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ART. XII.—*Versuch über die Maltesische Sprache zur Beurtheilung der neulich wiederhohlten Behauptung, dass sie ein Ueberrest der altpunischen sey, und als Beytrag zur arabischen Dialectologie.——Essay upon the Maltese language; by way of examination of the hypothesis lately revived, that it is a relic of the ancient punic language. and of contribution to Arabic dialectology, by Dr. William Gesenius, Professor in the Gymnasium of Heiligenstadt.* Leipsic, 12mo, 1810.

THE people of Malta are a distinct race from the other inhabitants of Europe. The common peasantry of the island speak a dialect having considerable affinity with the Hebrew, and of course belonging to what are called *Semitic* languages. The languages comprehended under the denomination of Semitic are the Hebrew, Chaldaic or East Aramean, Syriac or West Aramean, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan. The Phenician may be considered as a seventh branch of this stock. These dialects bear about the same relation to each other, that the German does to the Dutch, or the Spanish to the Portuguese. Many of these dialects, it will be seen, are highly interesting on account of the people who spoke them, and the monuments of ancient literature which they contain. Two of them, the Hebrew and Arabic, contain the depositories of religion, for a considerable portion of the globe. The name itself, Semitic, we scarce need add, is derived from that of the eldest son of Noah, the reputed ancestor of the nations, by whom the languages mentioned were spoken.

As the Phenicians, who were neighbours of the Hebrews

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and spoke a kindred dialect, visited Malta at a very early period, and sent colonies thither, and were afterwards succeeded by the Carthaginians, who originated from Phenicia, an opinion very naturally suggested itself to the learned, that the present Maltese tongue might, in fact, be the remains of the ancient Phenician, and, what is nearly the same, the old Carthaginian or Punic. The supposition was very plausible in itself, and promised results highly gratifying to the literary world. The Phenicians were perhaps the first among cultivated nations. They were an enlightened, commercial, opulent, and literary people, when the rest of the world were hardly acquainted with alphabetical writing. Every thing pertaining to their history and their language has interested the historian of antiquity and the philologist. But the monuments of this people are few and scattered.

Dr. Bellermann, the learned director of the Berlin-Cologne Gymnasium, who has devoted perhaps as much time to the study of the Phenician remains, as any living scholar, recommends, in the first of a series of programs on this subject, published in 1812, the formation of what he calls a *Thesaurus phœnicio-punicus*, intended as an imitation of the works of Gronovius and Grævius, and to contain all that we have of Phenician Antiquity, and all that has been written in illustration of it.—But in the very proposal of the work, he betrays the scantiness of the materials, which are to fill it, as far as they are to consist of remains of the Phenician language, to which scantiness of materials, the abundance of the commentaries on them, as is usual in the learned world, stands in inverse ratio. As the Program of Dr. Bellermann is rarely met with out of Germany, we venture to translate the following long passage from it, for the benefit of such of our readers as are keenly interested in the native language of Cadmus and Hannibal, and who may wish to know, in brief, what remains to us of this language, and to what degree it has attracted the attention of modern scholars.

'The Thesaurus phœnicio-punicus,' says the doctor, 'should, in my opinion, contain 1. The sources, 2. The ancient accounts, 3. The modern labours upon these materials. There should, therefore, be collected all the *inscriptions* in the Phœnico-punic character, which have been discovered on marble, stone, metal, or vases. I reckon of such inscriptions, at present, forty five, which

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have been found at Citium in Cyprus, in Crete, in Malta, in Gozzo, in Gaulos, at Palermo and Carpentras in Sicily, at Athens, at Palmyra, and in Africa itself, and published by Pococke, Wood, d'Orville, Rigord, Prencipe de Torre Muzza, Akerblad, &c.

[We trust the learned doctor does not mean to exclude from his Thesaurus the inscription on our own Dighton rock, which we have no doubt has as good right to be included as some of the forty five; and which, if some means be not speedily taken by the friends of American Antiquity to remove it from its present exposed situation, will, before long, be quite worn away by the river.]

'To these should be added a considerable, though not yet ascertained number of *coins*. They may be conveniently divided into three classes, viz. such as have a purely Phenician or punic legend; secondly, such as, besides such a legend, have a Greek or Roman one connected with it, as the names, for instance, of Alexander, of Juba, and of Roman Emperors; thirdly, such as have no inscriptions. All the coins hereto appertaining should be, in like manner, critically copied from Paruta, Velasquez, d'Orville, Swinton, Haym, Dutens, de Boze, Barthelemy, Pellerin and P. Bayer. Whether imitated in copper plate, lithography, or wood cuts, the greatest care should be had, to copy exactly the forms of the letters.

'In the second place, the Thesaurus phœnicio-punicus ought to contain every thing of their *writings*, which has come down to us from antiquity. Although the works of the national Phenician authors, of the learned priest Sanconiathon of Berytus, of the Carthagenian Mago, called by Strabo Mochas and by others Mochus (the author of twenty eight books on Agriculture, according to Pliny, which were translated from Punic into Greek, by Dionysius of Utica, and reduced into a compend of six books by Diophanes of Bithynia, who in that state presented them to king Deiotarus) of Chæus, Chætus or Lætus, of Asitus, of Hæstiæus, of Theodotus, of Hypsikrates, (a Greek name which, as well as the termination *us* of the foregoing names, was imposed by foreigners,) of the navigator Hanno, and of Philo Byblius,—although these works are lost in their originals, we possess, nevertheless, precious fragments of some of them in Greek and Latin translations in Eusebius, Augustin, Porphyry of Tyre, and Photius; as we have also specimens of the Punic preserved, in Latin characters in Plautus, and several phœnico-punic words in other ancient authors. For the sake of brevity, I refer here to my three programs, entitled "An Attempt to explain the punic passages in Plautus," Berlin, 1806, 1807, 1808—to My program Phœniciæ

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linguæ vestigiorum in Melitensi specimen, 1809. (Some of the opinions contained in which I now retract, having changed my convictions since,) and my program de Phœnicum et Pœnorum inscriptionibus, 1810.

'It will be necessary to the completeness of this work that the passages of the ancients, particularly of the Greeks, Romans, Arabians, and Syrians relative to this subject, should be extracted and thrown together.

'Thirdly, every thing of importance which has been written by scholars in modern times, by way of *illustration* of this subject, should be incorporated into the Thesaurus To make the enumeration with respect to Phenician Coins alone, the literary history of which is so unperfectly given in the otherwise excellent work of Meusel Bibliotheca historica II. 14: the labours of the Spanish Scholars in this department are particularly rich in materials For instance, Bernardo Aldrete Varios antiguedades, &c. 1614; Vinc. J. de Lastanosa; Velasquez; Henriquez; Florez, Metallas de los Colonies Madrid, 1758—73; Francis Perez Bayer del Alfabeto y lengua de los Fenices, in the Sallust of the Infant, Madrid 1772, fol.

'Among the Italian literati should be included Phil. Paruta, with the commentaries of Leon, Augustin, Golz, and Havercamp; Ridolfino Venuti; Gabr. L. Ca-tellus or Principe de Torre Muzza (Thes. Sic.) Georgio Gaulteri, and Vincenz. Mirabella in his Antiche Siracuse.

'Of the French there are Vaillant, Jean Clerc, Jaquez de Bary, Bochart, Claude Gros de Boze, Mignot, Fabricy a Frenchman settled in Rome, and Sylvestre de Sacy.

'Of the English, John Swinton, of whom we have twenty seven scattered, and in part very rare essays on this subject, Chandler, Pembroke, Pococke, Norris and Haym.

'Of the Swedes, Akerblad in the Actis Gœtting.

'Of the Danes, Norberg and Zoega.

'Of the Dutch, Erasmus, Havercamp, d'Orville, and Burmann, the editor of the Thesaurus Siculus.

'The German Scholars have not been behind hand in this quarter, though less favoured in local circumstances than the Spanish, French, and Italians. The Thesaurus should contain what has been written in this way by J. J. Gessner, Reinesius of Gotha, Rhenferd of Westphalia. Frœlich, C. S. Liebe, U. Von Lingen, C. Hendreich, J. M. Weinrich, J. D. Michaelis, Niebuhr, O. L. and T. C. Tychsen, Eichhorn, Bruns. Lorsbach, Lichtenstein, Vater, Gesenius, and Anton.'—*Bemerkungen ueber die phoenizischen und punischen Muenzen. Erstes Stueck*, p, 32—34.

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Our readers will readily see that, behind all this pompous array of materials for a Phenician Thesaurus, the amount of what remains to us of this tongue is inconsiderable. It becomes, therefore, a question of no small interest, whether the ruins of this language are yet to be found in the interior of Malta. Can we still, from a living and spoken language, enlarge, almost at pleasure, our scanty vocabulary of the ancient Phenician tongue? If so, the solution of the Punic riddle in Plautus is near at hand. But this is of secondary consequence. Should the Phenician be found nearly identical with the Hebrew, the discovery would be of vast importance to sacred literature and the study of the Old Testament. Should it be found to hold a more distant relation to the sacred language, still this new branch of the Semitic stock of languages would throw light on all the rest, and be of great assistance to the biblical student.

Among the writers, who have defended the opinion that the Maltese language is of Punic origin, are John Quintin of Autun in France, in a descriptio Insulæ Melitæ, inserted in Grævii Thesaurus Siculus; John May, a Lutheran divine and professor of Oriental languages at Giessen in Hesse Darmstadt, in his specimina linguæ punicæ, in hodiernâ Melitensium superstite; and G. P. Franc. Agius de Soldanis, in his work della lingua punica, presentamente usata da' Maltesi ovvero Nuovi documenti, li quali possono servire di lume all' antica lingua Etrusca. In Roma 1750, 8vo. Prof. Adelung, however, whose labours have contributed so much to the knowledge of universal language, rejected this opinion in his *Mithridates;* but the nature and extent of his work did not permit him to give a full statement of his reasons. The high authority of Adelung did not therefore quiet the wishes of the learned, nor prevent Dr. Bellermann from again proposing and defending the old opinion in a Program already mentioned, entitled *Phœniciæ linguæ vestigiorum in Melitensi Specimen I.* Berolini, 1809. This work contains an extensive list of Maltese words, each of which the author traces back to a Hebræo-Phenician origin, and was the immediate occasion of the essay of Dr. Gesenius. Dr Gesenius, at the time of the publication of the work before us professor of the Gymnasium at Heiligenstadt, a small Prussian city, is now well known to our readers as professor at the University of Halle, and author of the most valuable Hebrew Lexicon

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which we possess. Thinking that the learning and celebrity of Dr. Bellermann might give currency to what he considered a false and unfounded opinion, in regard to the Maltese language, he published the essay before us; and it is probably this essay, which produced that change in Dr. Bellermann's convictions, which the doctor himself has the candor to acknowledge, in the extract we have given above.

Malta was under the power of the Arabs or Saracens from A. D. 870 to 1090; and intercourse was kept up with that people for some time afterwards. The ease, with which these historical circumstances would account for the similarity of Maltese to the Semitic dialects, seems by Quintin and his followers either to have been entirely overlooked; or it was taken for granted that the language of the country, especially of the interior, was not much affected by the invasion of the Arabs. This is the view taken by Dr. Bellermann of this subject. But the Arabic names of places in Malta, as well as the testimony of historians, show that the Arabians penetrated into the interior. See Abela *Malta illustrata*, edit. Ciantar. Malta 1272, I. 681, &c. Others hold that, admitting the basis of the language to be Arabic, there are nevertheless several Phenician words, which have been preserved in it. This was the opinion of May. The learned essay of Gesenius, in which he has compared the Maltese tongue throughout, as to its words, forms, inflections, and constructions, with the Semitic dialects, and especially with that species of common Arabic which is now spoken by the Moors and Moroccaners, has fairly met and answered each of these different theories, and also given a general view of the peculiarities of the Maltese tongue. The essay contains a preface, giving a view of the controversy concerning the Maltese language, sixteen pages; section I. Grammatical peculiarities of the dialect, twenty six pages; section II. Maltese extracts, with an analysis of each word, sixteen pages; and section III. a register of Maltese words with their explanations, thirty pages. No reader, it is believed, can avoid coming to the conclusion of the author, that the Maltese is nearly common Arabic, with some peculiarities of its own, particularly the intermixture of Italian words; and that it has no relation to the Phenician or Hebrew, beyond the general affinity of the Arabic with those languages.

The following observations, drawn principally from the

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essay before us, will exhibit the peculiarities of the language, and at the same time enable the reader to judge of the point at issue between the author and Dr. Bellermann.

1. The Maltese language contains some occidental words. The same is the case, though in a less degree, with common Arabic. The occidental words adopted into the Maltese are all of Italian origin. This arises from the intercourse, which the inhabitants have had with Italy, and from Italian being spoken in the cities on the island. For the most part, however, the oriental expressions are also retained, and the corruption arising from this source has been overrated. In one specimen of the Lord's prayer, in Maltese, we meet with *nom* name, *volunta* will, *tentationi* temptation, *malo* evil, etc. which are evidently Italian. But in two other specimens of the same prayer we meet only one word of this kind. Sometimes these occidental words have the oriental preformatives and suffixes, and present a very singular appearance. Thus in liber*ana*, (deliver us,) *na* is the first person plural pronominal suffix; in *ye*ruin*nah* (he will destroy him) *ye* is the preformative of the third person singular of the future, and *nah* is the third person singular, pronominal suffix. As to the opinion of Agius, expressed in the work of which we have already given the title, that some Maltese words are derived from the ancient Tuscan, it is, like most of the popular opinions of the Italian scholars on the subject of Etruscan antiquities, perfectly fanciful. To this subject, which yields to no branch of antiquity in interest, we hope before long to have an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers, and of presenting them with an examination of the celebrated work of Lanzi on the Etruscan language. Bayer suggested the question whether there were not some German words intermingled, and this was repeated by Michaelis (*Orient. Biblioth.* Th. VI. s. 116.) and also by Adelung (*Mithrid.* Th. I. s. 415.) But the Maltese word *ard* or *art* (signifying earth,) from which this opinion arose, is as easily derived from the Arabic *arts*, as from the German *erde*. In fact, if we adopt the somewhat alarming theory of Dr. Whiter in his Etymologicum, this same element, *arts*, is the root, not only of the words which resemble it in other languages, but of all the words, in all the languages; the one universal mother element, with which the human organs began, in their effort to express thoughts by sounds, and out of which all language has suc-

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cessively grown. With respect to the resemblance of the Maltese and German, it is a well known fact, that a few words pervade almost all languages, in forms nearly identical. They are borne, like seeds by birds, by travellers and traders, and often start up and show themselves, where you would least expect them. In the case of the Maltese, it is evident that the few occidental words it contains have no influence on the question of its Phenician or Arabic origin.

2. Some words have been incorrectly traced to a Hebræo-Phenician origin, by Bellermann, and much more by his predecessors, from an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew, and from not attending to the meaning of the Maltese words under investigation. Thus *donni*, signifying in Maltese *it appears to me*, is compared by Bellermann with the Hebrew אדוני (adoni) which signifies *my Lord*. The Maltese *tal* compounded of *ta*, the sign of the genitive, and *al*, the article, Bellermann identifies with the rabbinical שֶׁל (shell.) Baalsamen, which corresponds very well with the Hebrew, is not a Maltese word, as Bellermann supposes.

3. The body of the language is common Arabic, and compares, with very great exactness, with the dialect of the Moors and Moroccaners. Like this dialect, it has many words, which are also Hebrew; as *ach* brother, *Alla* God, *Baal* Lord, *ben* son, *samen* heaven. But such words, which are common to all the Semitic dialets, cannot prove that the language of Malta is Punic, in contradistinction from the other dialects. Many Maltese words on the contrary are found in Arabic and in Arabic only.

4. For some words, we can discover neither occidental, nor Hebrew, nor Arabic analogy. The reason of this may be, that the words are corrupted and disguised by being written in the Roman character, by those who have collected them, the Maltese themselves never writing their language; or that our Lexicons of modern Arabic are imperfect, and do not contain the whole language; or that such words are provincialisms, which the Saracens brought with them into Malta, or which have been adopted since. Instances of this kind do not affect the question concerning the identity of Maltese and Punic.

We attach great importance to the second of these suggestions. Our vocabularies of the vulgar Arabic are no doubt extremely imperfect. We are not without hopes, that something

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may be done to supply this deficiency, from the papers of the unfortunate Burkhardt, bequeathed by that distinguished traveller to the University of Cambridge in England. Still more were to be hoped from the publication of a modern Arabic lexicon, now existing in manuscript in the archives of the Moravians at Hernnhut, which has been described to us as a quarto volume of the usual size, *and as thick as it is square.* This lexicon was copied by the indefatigable and lamented Rœntgen before his departure for Africa on that voyage of forlorn hope, upon which so many high-minded travellers have started like him never to return.

5. There remain a few words and inflections, which are not found in Arabic, so far as it is known at present, but which are analogous to words in some other Semitic dialects. Thus there is one word resembling the Samaritan; another, the Ethiopic. The termination of 3 pers. sing. of the preterite tense in *kaph* corresponds exactly to the Ethiopic. The pronouncing of the first consonant of words without a vowel is more like the Syriac and Chaldaic, than like the Arabic. Maltese resembles the Syriac in giving to the initial *jod* the sound of *i*, as *icun* instead *yacun*; also in the termination of the dual and plural of nouns, and in the sign of the genitive case. The Maltese 5th conjugation resembles the Hebrew *hithpahel* more than the 5th conjugation of the Arabic. The preposition *ghal* is more like the Hebrew עַל than the Arabic عَلَى. The copulative conjunction is sounded *u* like the Hebrew. But no inference can be made from such instances, that there existed a close and immediate connexion with any of these dialects. These are words and forms, which belonged to the common store of the Semitic languages; and, though no longer extant in written Arabic, are yet preserved in the common pronunciation of that language. Other branches of common Arabic present just such appearances. Thus *chabir* in ancient Arabic signified *skilful*, but in the present dialect of Yemen it signifies *a companion*, the very meaning which it had in ancient Hebrew. And in the same way many vulgarisms of the English language, which never appear in writing, may be supported by analogy from the German, and some peculiarities in the popular language of Crete and Tarentum may boast of classical origin.

With regard to the Punic language, it is a singular circumstance that a Latin proverb, said by St. Augustin (*Serm.*

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xiv.) to be of Punic origin, is now found to exist in the Maltese language; and a word is found in Maltese, denoting *a fisher*, consisting of the same radicals as the Phenician name of Sidon, which Justin tells us denoted *a fish*. But the same root is found in some of the other dialects also.

The author cannot be too much commended for the learning and talents displayed in this little work. It evinces the same nice discrimination and spirit of thorough investigation, which appear in all his grammatical and lexicographical works.

It is worthy of notice that *jim*, the third letter of the Arabic alphabet, which in ancient Arabic had the sound of the English *j*, has, according to Gesenius, in Maltese as well as Egyptian Arabic, the sound of *g* hard. The Moroccaners give it both sounds. These facts favour the Masoretic distinction of two sounds in the Hebrew *gimel*, and render it highly probable that the modern Greeks are correct in giving both a hard and a soft sound to the Greek *gamma*.

Gesenius also remarks that Vallancey, in his *Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish language, Dubl.* 1772, took for granted that Maltese was the same with ancient Punic, and compared the Irish with it. If any analogy were discovered, it would prove that the Irish was identical with the Arabic, not with the Punic. But though his *dreams*, to use Gesenius' expression, are hardly worth mentioning, yet we will give one instance of his fanciful and visionary mode of arguing. The Maltese *Alla ibiereg*, in which an oriental scholar will immediately recognize אלה יברך, *God shall bless*, Vallancey thinks to be the Irish *Iall beira dhuit, mayest thou do penance*. Vallancey's theory of the similarity of Irish and Phenician has been ably refuted by Michaelis (*Orient. Biblioth.* Th. iv. s. 116) Adelung (*Mithrid.* Th. i. s. 415.) and by many others.

We trust no apology need be made for having detained our readers a little while on a subject, too dry for general interest. The connexion of languages is one of the few means we have of supplying the defects of ancient history, and of tracing the march of nations from region to region. In a future number of our journal, we propose to examine the pretensions of the dialect now spoken by the Sette Communi, near Vicenza in Italy, to be considered as the relic of the language of Cimbri; and to trace the connexion of the modern language of Wallachia with the Latin brought there by the ancient Roman colonists.

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ART. XIII.—*Observations on penal jurisprudence and the reformation of criminals; with an appendix, containing the latest reports of the state prisons or penitentiaries of Philadelphia, New York, and Massachusetts; and other documents, by William Roscoe, Esq.* 8vo, pp. 179, Lond. 1819.

SOCIETY, under its most favourable circumstances, has always been debased by crimes. Whatever causes have increased its wealth or its numbers have generated at the same time peculiar vices of their own, and proved at once the source of improvement and degeneracy. In vain has the utmost wisdom of legislation laboured to counteract this unfortunate tendency. Education has opened her store-house, moral instruction has been poured out with untired liberality; no aid, which the most disinterested charity could bestow, has been withholden from the task of enforcing the principles of honesty, and yet the circle of vice has been continually extending itself, and new modes of depravity have been constantly added to the old. The effects of an intelligent philanthropy have probably borne some proportion to its honorable efforts; yet, with all its success in purifying society, crimes have not been, and probably never can be eradicated. Preventive law, yet in its infancy, has an extensive field for its labours; but nevertheless crimes will be perpetrated, criminals will be detected, and punishment in some form or other must be inflicted, as the sanction of the law.

In what shall that punishment consist? What will you do with the unhappy wretch whose misery excites compassion, although his crimes have provoked abhorrence and disgust? In what shall consist the sanction of those laws which you have made against offences, that society cannot tolerate? What is the proper penalty, and what the proper manner of inflicting it upon those, who have the less excuse for their crime, since they have wantonly broken down the barriers, which you have raised to prevent their inroads on the feeble? How shall a man be treated, if, after you have instructed him in better principles, have removed, as far as possible, all temptations to vice, and threatened him with loss of reputation, should he deride the power of the laws, he should nevertheless seize on some favourable moment to trample on your authority, and violate the rights you have endeavoured to make sacred? What allowance, what palliative, will you

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admit for the difference of motive, or how indeed will you determine between obstinate and irreclaimable vice, and thoughtless, unpremeditated folly?

These are questions in which humanity is deeply interested. They are questions in which a vast number of human beings are directly concerned as sufferers, and all of us as their fellow creatures. A practical answer to these questions is required in every community, and is necessarily to be found in the criminal code. Circumstances demand a decision, and laws must be enacted even when the operation of their policy is not distinctly perceivable.

The rights, which still belong to the violators of law, and the duties still owed to them by society, have not always been a matter of very serious concern. The tares were to be rooted out, that the wheat might not be injured. So long as the quiet of society could be preserved for its upright and worthy members, the torments or misery which impended over the disturbers of that quiet were but little regarded. Severity was inconsiderately taken to be the main property of criminal law; and it was hastily thought, that in proportion to the severity of the sanction, would be the tranquillity of society.

During the latter part of the last century a more careful attention was given to the subject. It was directed at first to an inquiry, whether the criminal was suffering only the punishment provided by law, or the added measure, which petty tyranny might choose to inflict. But since the time that Howard passed on his pilgrimage of humanity through the prisons of Europe, regard has been extended, by the intelligent and philanthropic, as well to the condition of criminals as to the policy of laws, by which punishment is defined; and criminal law, as a system, and an important one for the interests of mankind, has become the subject of serious and practical improvement. Among the enlightened friends of mankind, who have turned their thoughts to this inquiry, none have entered upon it with more zeal or a better spirit than Mr. Roscoe, who has brought the force of his cultivated mind to a business of practical importance; which, however, has nothing to recommend itself to the scholar or the man of taste, but its connexion with the welfare of society and the cause of humanity.

In the work before us, Mr. Roscoe has suggested many valuable ideas, and corrected in some degree the erroneous

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opinions which have prevailed more or less on the subject of punishment of crime; and has thrown upon all his sentiments a light of christian kindness, which does infinite credit to his good feelings and the sincerity with which he is animated. With the common error of reformers, however, he anticipates too much good from the improvements he proposes. He estimates too highly the advantages to be gained, and the evils to be avoided, by the plan, of which he is the ardent and strenuous advocate; and he thus prepares a disappointment for the public mind, which will operate unfavourably in the end for the permanent success of his system. We think it does no good to exaggerate the advantages or disguise the inconveniences of a scheme, which at best is only the least among the evils which surround us; nor on a question of this kind to discountenance the suggestions of experience, even if they interfere with the harmony of the design.

If Mr. Roscoe's book be liable to any remark of this kind, it is but a proof of his zeal, and of the earnestness with which he enters on a plan for the moral improvement of our species. The subject is somewhat a new one; and the practical operation of the humane system he recommends has not probably come under his personal observation.

In England and on the continent of Europe, laws for the punishment of criminals rarely contemplate the reformation of the offender. To cut him off from the life which he has abused, or to inflict a corporal suffering with such severity as to deter all others in like case offending, has been the extent of their design. Exceptions are to be found to this remark in recent times, yet it is generally applicable to European criminal law. The system consists in punishing by death, or by stripes, imprisonment, or banishment, all those who become obnoxious to its penalties. The waste of human life under its cruel operation has been prodigious; and the legitimate objects of society, the protection of liberty, property, and life, have been sacrificed to the means which were taken to preserve them. Indeed, the community has resembled a struggling crew on a wreck, where one half must be thrown overboard for the preservation of the other.

The *penitentiary* system proposes to reform the criminal, and restore him to society, penitent and useful. It proceeds upon an hypothesis favourable to human virtue, and to the effect of moral intelligence. It rests for its efficacy on the

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truth of the proposition, that reformation may be brought about by discipline and instruction; and that if the motives to an honest life are properly exhibited and enforced, there is good reason to expect they will influence the conduct. It considers vice as a diseased and not a natural state of humanity; and that the moral pharmacopeia has a medicine for each of its different appearances. Not only does it consider the criminal as labouring under a disease, but a contagion that will extend itself wherever it can find subjects, and that it is prudent to remove its victim to some lazaretto for the mind, where the pestilence that infests him may find no other to contaminate.

It cannot be denied that in respect to general design, the latter of these two systems has greatly the preference. They have, however, both their respective advantages, nor is either without its peculiar disadvantages. Judging by the effects produced, neither of them has answered its original design. In England, the sanguinary system of punishment has not diminished the number of criminals; and has begun to excite a disgust, which prevents its enforcement; while in the United States the practical operation of the penitentiary system has cooled the ardor of its friends, and excited doubts of its permanent utility.

The truth is, that the causes of crime must be destroyed, before the number of criminals will decrease; and it is in vain to attempt to counteract the temptations to vice, by *any* human punishment which follows its detection. Mankind will be forever disappointed, if they rely for protection against crime, only on the penalty denounced against criminals. Before the penalty can be enforced the criminal must be arrested; but the chance of escape appears to him greater than that of detection, if indeed any calculation is made previous to the commission of crime. In truth, little consideration is given to consequences. Most crimes are the offspring of passions, which are willing to run the gauntlet of the law. The heart must be amended before the life will be honest. The evils consequent upon detection must be realized before strong temptation has begun its assault, or the sanction of laws against crime will have little efficacy.

Punishment is only one of the agents, which society has at its command for the prevention of crime. But it is an important one, notwithstanding all the diminutions from its efficacy.

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It may take from the criminal the power of future mischief by depriving him of liberty or life; and as the one or other method is most frequently adopted, different and essential impressions will be made on the general habits, the feelings, and the manners of the community. Supposing, then, that society has done its duty to its members; supposing that it has suppressed, as far as possible, the nurseries of immorality and crime; that establishments, which ruin the morals of those who frequent them, are as far as practicable broken up; that places for intoxication, gambling, debauchery, and other species of depravity are effectually prohibited; that schools and other seminaries of moral and religious instruction are provided; that provision is made for the unfortunate, and employment given to the idle; and that by these means society has established a right to demand from its members, that they respect the lives, persons, and property of each other. The question again occurs, what must be done with those who are convicted of violating these reasonable requisitions?

We presume nobody will deny the right of punishment in some form or other. It has indeed been suggested, that as all crime is an evil, so also is all punishment; and that to superadd the evil of punishment to the evil of crime is only doubling the misfortune of the community. It has been said too that punishment cannot remedy the evil. That you cannot revive the man who has been murdered, by killing the murderer, nor rebuild the dwelling which is burned by destroying the perpetrator of the ruin; and that to do so can be defended on no better principle, than the unchristian spirit of revenge. These and some other cavils of the like nature are mere fanciful suggestions. Every body sees that laws must be made against crimes which strike at the great objects of civil society; and that these laws must have an efficient sanction; and the inquiry is, wherein shall that sanction consist? The preservation of society authorizes the punishment of its refractory members, and the right extends to any length, which preservation requires. But while it is authorized by the necessity in which it originates, it cannot be extended beyond it; and the infliction of extreme punishment for offences which do not hazard the essential objects of society is an arbitrary extension of power, which no moral sentiment can approve.

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The legitimate object of punishment then is only to prevent crime, and has reference to the perpetrator of the crime punished, or the remaining members of society. With regard to the criminal it is certain that to deprive him of life effectually prevents any further transgression; but the ground on which we have placed the right of punishment denies us this power, where there is reasonable presumption that other means would be as effectual; and even admitting the right, the utility of registering every offence, in the blood of the criminal, would no where meet an advocate.

The influence of punishment on the other members of society is the second lawful object for which it may be inflicted; because the suffering consequent on crime, if seen and realized by the community, will be a means of preventing its recurrence.

Mr. Roscoe, in the work before us, thinks that the opinion of the utility of example has been carried much too far; and recites with peculiar reprobation the case of a man convicted at the Hertford Assizes for horse-stealing, who complained that it was cruel to hang him for only stealing a horse; and was answered by the judge that he was not hanged for only stealing a horse, but that horses might not be stolen. Whether the example, says Mr. Roscoe, might deter others from a similar offence was uncertain; but it was certain that a human being was put to death, for the chance of preventing another from stealing a horse.

Whether the crime of horse-stealing be justly punished in all cases with death is a question on which we should not differ from Mr. Roscoe; but whatever the punishment may be or whatever be the crime, the same answer applies. The man is punished, as he ought to be, for the felony he has committed; and he is punished in this particular manner, that others may be warned by his example. Lawgivers may mistake the means of giving the example of punishment its most powerful effect, but to deny that punishment is rightfully inflicted in suitable cases, for the benefit of general example, in the way which the laws have adjudged to be wise, would be to take from it most of its utility, and as it seems to us all its right.

It is on account of the erroneous manner, in which this example is exhibited, that the object itself meets disapprobation. Another judge, at the Lancaster Assizes, deemed it necessary to make the examples of public execution for forgery more

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horrible and striking, 'as if there was to be a contest between obstinacy and crime on the one hand, and resentment and cruelty on the other.' But because we cannot depend on severity in punishment to operate as a wholesome and efficient example, it by no means follows that example is not in itself a legitimate object to be attained by properly adapted punishment in suitable cases. That distress or suffering which seems in the eye of the community to be the natural and reasonable consequence of crime, which neither excites disgust against the laws nor sympathy for their victim, that course of suffering which shows how dearly the gratification of vicious propensity has been purchased, and how bitterly it must now be lamented, and is yet not calculated to awaken a ferocious spirit in the populace by exhibiting examples of legalized cruelty, that system which displays a tenderness and compassion toward the victims of vice, and makes those feelings a humiliating part of his punishment, that is the system whose operation will be worthy the care of ths legislator, because it will produce examples that will answer the great end of human punishment, by repressing the occasions and necessity of its repetition. By placing the right of inflicting punishment for crime on the ground of its being necessary for the preservation of society, we give to the laws all the authority which can be required for the purposes of their establishment, and guard the right against cruelty on the one side, without encouraging a false sensibility on the other.

It is the more important to keep this in view, because a sincere and strenuous advocate for a modification of severity in the penal code of Great Britain, who is on other topics often quoted with approbation, has maintained, we think somewhat inconsistently, that the sentiment of anger is allowable in criminal jurisprudence; and Mr. Roscoe, with no less impropriety, has advanced the erroneous doctrine, that the only proper object of human punishment is the reformation of the offender. We believe the laws should be designed to make society more secure; to do this by a wholesome severity, always under the controul of judgment, without anger or passion of any kind; that no more severity is allowable than will produce the purpose intended; and that as much may be rightfully inflicted, as wisdom and experience prescribe. If with these higher objects in view the criminal can be reclaimed, it is a circumstance of exceeding joy; and

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is always to be attempted whenever it does not interfere with the general benefit of the community.

The right to take human life as a punishment for crime being thus established, and all the other usual methods of punishment being lawful on proper occasions, it becomes, most commonly, a question of expediency in what the punishment should consist.

To inflict death in peculiar cases may perhaps be justifiable, but to take human life, as in England, for more than two hundred different actions, must be unnecessary, inhuman, and immoral. Sensibility sleeps in the lap of luxury, and the legislator is contented to secure his own selfish enjoyments, by subjecting his fellow-creatures to the miseries of a dungeon and the horrors of an ignominious death. It can only be accounted for by the influence of example reaching to the present times, from ages of the darkest ignorance and thus perpetuating their arbitrary and tyrannical spirit, that laws are tolerated which involve in one common punishment such a great variety of offences, so different in their nature, not only with the most flagrant injustice, but with the greatest danger to every member of the community, whose life is thus placed in competition with objects of the most trivial and worthless description, and is liable to be sacrificed to the security of society against the consequences of very inferiour and comparatively unimportant crimes. 'To commit a murder or to free a person from arrest; to burn a dwelling house and its inhabitants, or to burn a haystack; to commit a parricide or obstruct an officer of the revenue in the seizure of prohibited goods; to break into a dwelling house at midnight or to cut down or otherwise destroy a tree in a garden; to poison a family or maim a cow'—are equally causes for capital execution. Is it possible to conceive that, if an enlightened and humane legislator had undertaken to form a code of laws for a civilized country, they could have adopted such provisions as these, which are not less dangerous to themselves, than intrinsically extravagant and unjust; and which might render it indispensable to the life of the poor wretch who is cutting a stake in a plantation, to murder the owner, who may unwillingly have it in his power to give that evidence which may take the forfeited life of the offender? 'This, if carried into strict execution, would form one of the bloodiest systems of legislation by which any na-

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tion, ancient or modern, ever punished itself.'* And it is carried into execution far enough to make the act of taking human life an ordinary every-day occurrence, that excites little sensibility or concern. The blood that is spilt upon the scaffold is a vain and useless oblation to the laws which are regarded rather with horror than respect, and scarcely maintain an influence in the vicinity of the place of execution.

A different and opposite effect is produced by capital punishment in this country, much more creditable to our humanity, but not less injurious to the ultimate objects for which such punishment ought to designed.

During the thirty or sixty days' quarantine, which is allowed a condemned malefactor to purify himself of his sins, the tremendous punishment that awaits him, and not the crime which requires it, occupies *universal attention*. The prisoner's cell is visited by the pious inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and his whole time is either one sabbath of prayer or an holiday of festivity. The means of luxurious indulgence are supplied to him beyond the requirement of nature, while many a dwelling of honest poverty, much more in want of such consolations, is left to suffer. With these ministrations of kindness, so bitter by contrast to those who have as much necessity for them and a better title, he is supported against the ignominy of public execution; the populace are taught in his example the doctrine of special grace working almost a miracle in reforming the sinner, who becomes a fit candidate for heaven from the traps of the gallows; the kiss of brotherly affection, from the lips of a confessor, is his passport to bliss; he dies a martyr to the vindictive spirit of the laws, and the sympathy of the crowd around allots him in another world the rewards of virtue, by way of recompense for the penalty paid for his crimes in this. Such exhibitions destroy all the moral influence, which the infliction of punishment is intended to produce. They bring the evil of capital execution without its advantages. Human life is destroyed and no good obtained by the sacrifice. Crime is considered of little importance, if it can be so easily washed away. Law is brought into contempt, when its utmost penalty is exhausted on a being, who is held up to admiration as one purified from sin. The final scene is looked upon by a

* Roscoe, p. 43.

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crowd of curious spectators with deep feelings of regret, rather as the martyrdom of an individual, than a penalty inflicted on a felon.

We by no means intend to inculcate any lesson of cruelty. The criminal is still a man, and is to be treated as a fellow-being. But he is a guilty man, accused, and condemned as such, and brought before the public, in that character, to pay the forfeit of his life. The attention of the spectators should be drawn to his offences, which cry aloud to heaven. The just and necessary connexion between guilt and suffering is the great lesson they are collected to learn. Whatever interrupts this connexion, whatever serves to produce a contrary or even a different impression, is foreign to the legitimate object, and destroys its efficacy; nd an excess of indulgence and sensibility toward the criminal is real cruelty to those for whose moral good his life is exacted by the laws.

When capital executions are frequent, they are beheld with indifference; but wherever they occur, the time, the form, the appendages of the solemn scene should be so arranged, that abhorrence of the crime should always preponderate over compassion for the criminal.

If the feelings, which we have suggested as proper on these occasions, are not desirable, if the more tender and compassionate sentiments that so much better befit our nature are entitled, on these occasions as on others, to indulgence, it will form, not an objection to the principles we have advanced if capital punishment be allowed, but a strong argument for abrogating it altogether from the criminal code. The sentiments which such a spectacle ought to excite are not the most agreeable in themselves, nor perhaps, in the abstract, most useful to the community; but they are such as must be encouraged, to give the spectacle its intended effect; and if, in consequence of the evils which may come with them, they are pronounced unbecoming a refined and a christian community, there can be no alternative but subjecting the criminal to a different or private penalty.

But whether capital punishment be extended or confined in its operation, there will be crimes which it cannot be intended to prevent; and the class of criminals, who will deserve other punishment, will always be large enough to claim serious regard. For these there has been erected, in several of the states, a state prison, or penitentiary, on a plan, in

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most respects, the same; but carried into practice with different degrees of success. It was formerly provided by our laws that this class of convicts should be punished by being branded, whipped, set in the pillory, or on the gallows, and such other public and infamous punishments, as would not be tolerated at the present day. Their ill effects on the manners of the community and their pernicious operation upon the wretched beings, females as well as males, on whom they were inflicted, are now so well understood as to have left few, if any advocates for the readoption of such punishments. The criminal, who is whipped, cannot thereby be reformed. He is marked as a convict, and thrown back upon society, while the marks of his punishment are visible and his degradation remembered,

"The world is not his friend nor the world's law;"

and he is compelled by necessity to repeat his offence and receive accumulated punishment, until the law exacts the forfeiture of his life.

Let us attend for a moment to the plea of reason and justice, which would be urged by such an unhappy wretch, when, after having gone the rounds of these infamous inflictions, he is brought in jeopardy of his life.*

'I had no means or incitements (he might say) to gain a little reputation, because a stamp of ignominy had been indelibly fixed upon me before. I was thrown back on an injured and incensed world. I fled from solitude and reflection, because the past afforded me no satisfaction, the present sustained my sinking spirits by no consolation, and the future cheered me with no hope. I associated with wicked companions, because good men shunned me. I wandered, because I had no home. I loitered, because no man would employ me. I stole, because the importunate and irresistible cravings of nature would not permit me to starve. A suspected vagrant in every lonely village, a detested outcast in every crowded city, cold and naked, hungry and thirsty, I no longer can desire to live nor fear to die.

'These excuses, so generally disbelieved and rejected by man, may be true, and if true, they are important, and if important, they may plead trumpet-tongued against the revilers

* Characters of Charles James Fox. Notes, 397.

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of the unfortunate when they meet together before the tribunal of heaven.'

A state prison, if it has no other advantage, keeps these civil marauders in confinement, supplies them with the means of subsistence, compels a physical exertion for support, and takes away their power of carrying on their warfare against society. While the lawless villain is secured within its walls, the community is free from his depredations, and uncontaminated by his example; and this positive good being obtained, the institution, by which it is obtained, is deserving of patronage, and unless its evils more than balance all this advantage it will be worthy of public encouragement. But to this security of society, a *penitentiary* is designed to superadd the means of reforming the prisoner and giving him a chance at least of recovering his moral character. It is objected to our penitentiaries that they have not answered their purpose; that men come out of them worse than they went in; that vice, like putrefaction, increases in degree by the accumulation of materials, until it produces an extensive and fatal contagion. The warmest advocates of these institutions will probably admit that they have not, in all respects, corresponded to their wishes, but whoever contends that they have been wholly unproductive of benefit must surely be very little acquainted with their history.

The questions to be discussed are, first, what expectations concerning them are reasonbly to be entertained; secondly, what has in fact been accomplished; and lastly, what causes, which can be removed or changed, have prevented or retarded a more perfect result in this great experiment of humanity.

Utterly to extirpate crime and to purify society from the pestilence of vice, cannot, as we have already remarked, be expected as the result of any human institution. Nor is it, we should suppose, to be expected, that a class of men, broken down in reputation and covered with the leprosy of crime, should find a state prison like the river of Jordan, in which they could wash and become clean by a miracle. 'There is no short and expeditious way of extirpating moral evil,' and the best means and appliances will, in many cases, wholly fail, and in others be attended with only partial success. If education and example, and all those motives which can operate to keep men honest, are not strong enough to bind them to virtue, it ought not disappoint rational expectation to find

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that discipline and punishment are not always sufficient to reclaim them. Corporal public punishment, as formerly inflicted, did nothing and was expected to do nothing in reforming the convict. The penitentiary, if it does as much for the security of society, and any thing for the reformation of the criminal, is entitled to preference. The great source of disappointment is unreasonable expectation. More benefit has been anticipated than it was prudent to propose. The advocates of this improvement in humanity have been too ardent and sanguine. They have promised themselves too much, and injured their cause by the disappointment which has followed.

Let it be admitted, as it ought to be, that a portion of the convicts are incurables in this hospital of moral disease. If some can be cured and more can be relieved; if the great majority are convalescent, and a few are restored to health, is it to be objected to the utility of the institution that some perish, because their disease was originally fatal, or that they were not admitted till mortification had seized upon the heart? We do not believe in any empiricism which pretends, by a certain specific, to cure every possible evil. But we maintain that the regimen of the prison is, with the blessing of heaven, a mean of destroying a great mass of moral corruption, and diminishing those seeds of vice, from which spring the greatest harvest of misery. In the walls of the penitentiary will be found not merely the incorrigible offender, but the inexperienced culprit. There will be found many, whom poverty or bad company led into temptation too strong for their virtue, and to the commission of crime repented of as soon as committed; and others who are rather the dupes of older villains, than totally degenerate themselves. Should such persons be whipped and discharged into the same scenes, the same company, the same misery, and the same temptations, and the almost inevitable renewal of their crime and their punishment? Will you convert a single error into an irreparable crime? Or will you not rather place the miserable patient where, by a kindness he will regard, and a discipline he must feel, he will become sensible of his wickedness, and be removed from the dangerous connexions in which it originated? Among such unfortunate criminals there is hope of amendment. From this great and growing class, many may be preserved from ruin, the living

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witnesses of the excellence of the institutions by which they have been restored to society. That our state prisons have answered this valuable though moderate expectation is abundantly proved by an inspection of their records. In the early period of the Philadelphia penitentary, when it was conducted with indefatigable attention by its philanthropic founders, 'the prison was a school of reformation and a place of public labour. *and of the many, who received the Governour's pardon, not one returned a convict.*'* At a later period, out of near two hundred persons, who had been recommended to and pardoned by the Governour, only four had returned; the roads in the vicinity of the city so constantly infested with robbers were seldom disturbed by those dangerous characters; the houses, shops, and vessels, so perpetually robbed, no longer experienced those alarming evils. There had been but two instances of burglaries in the city and county for near two years. Pickpockets, formerly such pests of society, were unknown; not one instance had occurred of a person being convicted of that offence for two years past, and the number of persons convicted at the several courts had constantly decreased.†

The early history of the New York state prison gives the same result, and its recent and present failure to meet the public expectation can be accounted for without controverting the grounds on which this mode of punishment is justified.

In Massachusetts, from the opening of the state prison, in December 1805, to the 15 April 1817, there were received 918 convicts, of whom 79 were afterwards returned, 30 were then in custody, 38 had died, and the remaining 496 had never been brought again within the prison limits.

During the same period, 155 had been pardoned, of whom 11 had proved themselves unworthy of the favour, but 144 had not been known to be again the subjects of criminal law ‡

Of those who were liberated, many are known to the officers of that institution to have become industrious and useful citizens.

These facts prove the utility of the Institution in certain cases and in a proportion which is gratifying to its advocates; while the further fact that five convicts had been returned

* First report of Inspectors of the prison of Philadelphia.
† An account of the alteration of the penal laws of Philadelphia.
‡ Directors' MS. records.

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four times each, and one five times, proves also that to expect reformation in every convict is altogether idle. The prescription will not suit every patient, and moral as well as physical disease will sometimes baffle the efforts of human wisdom.

We have already alluded to the advantage derived from the physical inability of so many men to do evil, which is imposed on them by confinement; and to the benefit derived to society by obstructing the influence of the example which would necessarily spread itself, did these convicts enjoy their personal liberty. These considerations form the grounds of hope, that a penitentiary may be the means of preventing great evils to society and of accomplishing much positive good.

But while we advert with satisfaction to advantages produced by the penitentiary establishments, we cannot refuse to believe that they have not accomplished all that could reasonably be expected; and it is proper to examine the causes which have diminished their efficiency.

Among the first, is that which grows out of their expense. It had been supposed that a State Prison would be able to defray its own expenses without aid from the treasury, a presumption as extravagant, as to expect that every convict was to be turned out an honest man. This is impossible. The number who, from sickness or want of capacity, are unable to work, the difficulty at all times of providing suitable employment, the time lost by solitary confinement, and the different results of voluntary and involuntary labour, the expense of transportation, the salary of officers, and a variety of other charges peculiar to the place, will always prevent a State Prison from paying its own expense.

This expense is a charge upon the public; and to render it as small as possible, the penitentiary character of the establishment has been made a secondary consideration. It is no longer a place merely of moral improvement, where industry is enforced as a part of necessary discipline; but it becomes a great workship, in which every man is labouring for the public, and obliged to add as much as possible to the capital stock.

The effect is seen in a variety of indulgences granted to the convicts, and to the superior importance which is attach-

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ed to profit over manners. The institutions themselves are contrived with regard to economy, and as the prisoners increase in numbers, a separation becomes impossible. They mingle together in the workshops, are crowded in the cells, and have opportunity by injudicious intercourse to confirm each others bad habits, and to combine against the natural tendency of their punishment. Instances are sometimes given where the labour of the prisoners has been supposed equal to the expenditure, but on examination this will be found delusive. The report of the Massachusetts commissioners in 1817 states the annual cost of each prisoner to be from $20 to $90, in different institutions, and that every where the balance is against the public. Whenever it has appeared otherwise, the value of a great amount of personal attention, voluntarily bestowed by philanthropic individuals, has not been carried to the account. The expense enters necessarily into the system, because society can bear only a limited expenditure. If the expense be unreasonable, the system is radically wrong. Its advocates are therefore bound to show that the necessary demands on the public are not so large, as to bear an unequal relation to the profit or utility of the plan.

The Massachusetts commissioners made very accurate inquiries on this branch of their duty, and ascertained that, in the year 1816, the expense to the public for the support of 652 convicts in the prison at Philadelphia was $36411,55; of 753 convicts in New York $40000; of 273 convicts in Massachusetts $13000; of 54 in New Jersey $1933,67; of 274 convicts in Baltimore $6000; and that the establishment at Richmond, which had been boasted of as under the best management, and the receptacle in Connecticut, were not dissimilar in their results. Thus 2006 convicts in prison for one year cost the public $97345,22 more than was procured by their labour; averaging $48,52½ per man as a tax on the community. This sum however is not to be taken as a fair standard of necessary expense. The prisons were then in a very bad state. A degree of negligence had generally prevailed, which had produced deleterious consequences and called for reformation. To ascertain the best means of effecting this reformation, as to the Massachusetts establishment, and to give the legislature all the light which could be procured, these commissioners were appointed. They discov-

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ered the errors of the system and proposed effectual remedies. Not limiting their views to the emergency of the moment, they presented a bold scheme of radical improvement, and so far as it has been adopted by the legislature, it has been attended with success. In the last annual account of the Warden of the Massachusetts State Prison, the whole cost to the state for maintaining convicts for one year ending Sept. 30, 1819, is represented to be $2472,72, amounting to about $7 per man.*

* If this account be accurate, it develops a wonderful improvement in the plan, or a most successful economy in its execution, and perhaps both together, to an extent as far as it is practicable to carry them. But we are not now to learn that an account may be very flattering on paper and not very satisfactory in the fact; and we are inclined to suspect some unintentional fallacy in this representation. 1. Because we find, that during that period the Warden was obliged to call for and did actually receive from the State Treasury the sum of eleven thousand dollars. Now this sum is the cost of the institution to the public, because so much money is actually expended,—is taken from the public chest,—is paid by the people, and unless subsequently refunded, is lost to them, and appropriated to the prison.

2. Because to make this flattering result, the stock on hand is estimated at $23275,38. We have no intention to say that it is unfairly valued. We presume that considering the costs of the material and the labour bestowed on it, this is a fair price; but we object to this mode, because experience has always shown that such an amount cannot be realized in cash. In many instances it has been proved, that the manufactured article would not produce the cost of the raw material, and to estimate the value by the cost, with an addition for the price of labour at forty cents per day, is ascertaining what it ought to produce, and not what it will produce. Again, a portion of the 'stock on hand' is the refuse, and what cannot readily find a market. Goods made by the convicts are of different qualities; purchasers of course select the best, and leave the inferior; and to estimate that which remains, by that which is sold, will only occasion disappointment.

3. An amount of $18470,17 is credited by the prison for debts due. And we apprehend that a considerable amount of this sum will be afterwards transferred to 'profit and loss' account.

The public are always unfortunate creditors. It has not yet been ascertained that they can carry on business to advantage. If buildings are to be erected or contracts of any kind made, the expense far exceeds what would be chargeable to any individual. It is so with their debts. Taxes are excepted, merely because there is a special power to enforce their collection—but all other debts suffer considerable diminution, before the amount is paid to the public use. We shall be much deceived if more than two thirds of the above large sum be ever realized.

If six thousand dollars be taken from each of the above items, and added to the Warden's estimate of expense, it will make the balance $14472,72. These two sums would, we think, still leave a more favorable exhibit than the result will warrant, but the whole charge or balance that thereby appears, should not be carried to the debt of the curent year.

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In estimating the expense, the money saved by the confinement of convicts ought to be credited in account. One thief out of prison costs the public more than ten within it. The tax may fall, to be sure, on some unfortunate citizen, and not by a fair assessment on the public; but if he live by plunder, society suffers, and the cheapest way to support him is to provide the place and the manner of his subsistence. The amount which the community pays in this way is enormous; and yet not being precisely ascertained, and falling as if by accident on the sufferer, it is felt as a misfortune, which was unavoidable, rather than as an expense, which might have been prevented. In the town of Boston, for instance, which is as well governed and as sharply watched as any city in the Union, it is supposed there are two thousand men and women who live by profligacy, fraud, and felony; and that they obtain, in one way or another, at least one dollar per day each, making in the whole the enormous sum of $730,000 per annum, the twentieth part of which could be made to support the whole of them in the State Prison at Charlestown. It is therefore right when the expense of these establishments is considered, to take into view the burthen which their tenants always are on society, wherever they may be placed. It cannot be just to consider the total expense as a loss to the public—inasmuch as it can at best be but a choice of difficulties, the only option offered to the public being whether they will support these felons in a prison or out of it.

Experience has shown, we think, that the expense is not a fatal objection,—that it is not necessary to sacrifice the penitentiary plan to notions of economy, which when carried too far create the most ruinous kind of extravagance, and that the means of solitary punishment and separation among the convicts should be provided wherever a prison is erected.

The last year contained similar errors, and the account has been kept along from one year to another, increasing as it naturally must, because each year brings its own accumulation of mistake. Allow three thousand dollars for this cause—and it will be found that eleven thousand dollars will be the fair charge of this institution for one year, and this result corresponds with the fact, that this is the exact sum which in truth has been expended upon it by the Commonwealth. We protest against any exaggerated statement of advantage from these institutions. Let the truth be accurately stated. No disappointment can then be experienced, and we shall know whether what can be done is worthy of the effort necessary to obtain it.

It is from anticipating what cannot be accomplished, that so much dissatisfaction is sometimes felt on this subject.

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Another cause exceedingly injurious to the moral effect of these institutions is the character attached in public estimation to the unfortunate inmate, even after he quits their walls. In theory the malefactor has passed as it were through a purgatory, and comes out purified of his sins. If the penitentiary has done its office, he is no longer the miserable, depraved, and worthless felon who entered, but a regenerated, reformed, and penitent man, who has learned to be honest, by the sufferings consequent on vice. He will therefore meet no difficulty in obtaining employment. Indeed the humane and benevolent see in him an object of regard and sympathy, and they delight to send him on his way rejoicing. Such was not merely the theory but the practice of the charitable Quakers, who commenced these institutions. They did not leave the poor man at the threshold of the prison door, exposed to the wants of poverty, and thrown among the temptations of the world, with no safeguard but his unconfirmed moral feelings. They procured employment for him, gave him countenance and character, watched over him with assiduity, and prevented any backward step, by holding out allurements and motives to honesty.

The case is now changed, little or no provision is made for the discharged prisoner. The cares of the government do not extend beyond the prison walls. Society marks a man who has once been in confinement with a jealous eye. His reformation is doubted. The operation of his punishment has not, it is supposed, been radical. His old habits hang about him. He is still but an acquitted felon. Honest men avoid him. The police keep an eye upon his motions. Is a robbery committed, he is the first person suspected. Is labour wanted, he is the last person employed. In fact by a general public sentiment he is driven into the haunts of profligacy and crime. He is compelled to associate with his former companions, or with new candidates for the gaol. He feels himself an outlaw, without means, or friends, or character, and he retaliates on society the war which they have already begun.

This is a picture not indeed universally correct. There are many and important exceptions; but it is sufficiently general to deserve attention, and if possible to be reversed. Wherever these remarks apply, and the discharged convict, under the influence of the evils which surround him, is forced

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upon the commission of new offences, the blame is laid to the nature of his former punishment, and not, as it ought to be, to the incomplete performance of the duty which the public had assumed. First make the system perfect; establish all the parts of which it is composed, and then ascertain the result. It is a most important part of the penitentiary system that solitary confinement, and labour without intercourse among themselves, should prepare the prisoners for a future liberty, which they would not be inclined to abuse. If these are sacrificed to false notions of economy, you turn from the cells not a reformed sinner, but an angry and devouring felon; and you must expect that the temper which you have fretted, but not broken, will display with renewed violence its original atrocity.

It is another and no less important part of the system to secure the discharged convict, for a time at least, from the dangers of idleness; to give him the chance of regaining his reputation, and being useful to himself and mankind; to furnish a soil, where the seed you have sown may take root and spring up, without being lost in the sterility of the waste, or choaked by the tares, which would otherwise surround it. This can be done without any terrible expense, and it must be done before society can derive the benefits, which these humane establishments were designed to produce.

A most worthy man, Mr. Caleb Bingham, who for several years was a director of the Massachusetts Penitentiary, has by his personal exertions given proof of the propriety of the above remarks. In addition to many useful acts of voluntary charity, in superintending the instruction of the convicts, and conducting a Sunday School for the unfortunate youth who were sent there, he made great exertions to procure, for the better class of those who were discharged, places where industry and attention would secure them an honest support. Many days of his valuable life were devoted to the Christian and charitable office, and the many instances of his success which were known to the gentlemen, who were associated with him in the direction, were proud testimonials of the value and effect of this judicious design. We have great pleasure in paying this tribute of respect to the memory of a man, whose life was devoted to acts of unostentatious but practical philanthropy.

The evil resulting from a want of such an arrangement,

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as was obtained by this excellent man, needs no illustration to make it apparent, and yet it may derive force from a fact stated by the officer of police in London, on an examination before a committee of the House of Commons. 'I will take upon myself to say,' said he, 'that I have known this to be a clear case, which they have said to me, Sir, we do not thieve from disposition, but we thieve because we cannot get employment; our character is damned, and nobody will have us, and so it is. There can be no question about it.'*

The state of the county prisons and the manner in which culprits are confined there, is a most formidable obstacle to the effects of penitentiaries. In this respect a difference undoubtedly exists, in different parts of our country, both in the laws applicable to the subject, and the manner in which they are executed; but wherever we have had the opportunity of examination, the laws are injudiciously designed and worse executed. With the exception of the New York Bridewell, probably no prisons in the United States are under better regulations than those in Massachusetts, and to these our remarks chiefly apply. The laws of Massachusetts require a suitable building to be erected, for a gaol in each county, and authorize the magistrates to confine within them, for safe keeping till trial, all persons accused of capital crimes and such others, charged with inferior offences, as cannot find sufficient sureties for their personal appearance. The higher tribunals also sentence persons convicted of petty larceny and other smaller offences, to be confined there for short periods, and similar punishment is inflicted by justices of the peace for three months, when the convict is too poor to pay the fine assessed for some petty misdemeanor, with the costs of prosecution. It is at once perceivable that all the different classes of offenders are brought here, and remain together till the day of general gaol delivery, a period which may vary from twenty days to seven months. The law enforces on most of these prisoners no labour, and if it did there is no facility for performing it. Scarcely any room is allowed for exercise, and very little provision is made for the classification of prisoners. In the arrangement of the buildings strength and security have superceded every other object, and this has produced evils from which the most fatal consequences have followed to society. A young man or

* Minutes of evidence, page 264.

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woman beginning to get into bad habits is from that circumstance only perhaps suspected of some nefarious act or convicted of a petty misdemeanor. By way of security or punishment, he or she, as it happens, is sent to the county gaol and confined with the common tenants of the building, in laziness and inactivity of body or mind, two or three or four months. What is the natural consequence? Is the individual made better, or is he not almost certainly ruined?

The grand jury for Suffolk county made a particular examination of the prison in Boston in the year 1819, and directed a representation on the subject to be presented to the Court of Sessions. The following extract from their account will shew in what a miserable condition the prison was found, in the capital of the state.

'The attention of the grand jurors (they say) has been forcibly drawn to the inconvenient architecture of the buildings, by which the health of all, and the morals of such as have yet left any good principles to be vitiated, are exposed to ruin.

'The two lower stories are appropriated to convicts or to persons accused of crime and waiting for trial. The apartments are without sufficient ventilation. The external air is admitted only through windows facing the north, and has no circulation through the building; and even in this quarter is greatly obstructed by the high wooden fence and the offices before it. Hence all the rooms, but especially those on the lower floor, are damp and unwholesome, and can never be free from a fœtid atmosphere, generated by the occupants themselves. The prison has no hospital department, nor any room for diseased criminals. There is no other accommodation than moveable tubs for necessary purposes. The rooms have no fire-places or stoves, and are warmed by charcoal burnt in an open vessel.

'That there is great danger of disease generated in an atmosphere thus formed admits no doubt, and many have already been the victims of its ravages; but the grand jurors call the attention of your honors and the public to the danger, to which their fellow citizens are exposed by means of this great nursery of pestilence, in the heart of the town.

'There is a continual change of tenants; those who are sentenced to short periods of confinement, and others who have been tried and acquitted, pass from this lazaretto into the mass of the population, and scatter the seeds of disease through the community. During the last summer there was much reason for alarm, and it will continue and increase until a remedy is adopted.

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'The grand jurors are sensible that a prison should not be made a place of comfort or a habitation which a felon would select from choice. But whatever be the proper privations, and sufferings, and evils that the tenants of these buildings should be required to undergo, it is believed that the humanity of our citizens and the policy of our laws forbid that even the most atrocious offender should be virtually condemned to fever, rheumatism, or other infectious diseases, which there is sufficient reason to believe are the constant occupants of the prison.

'By the narrow limits of the enclosed grounds, and the obstructions within them, no means are afforded for exercise and the state of the apartments prevents any active employment.

'Idleness is the inevitable consequence; or those employments, worse than idleness, which destroy all good that remained to the unfortunate being when first consigned to this mierable life.

'But the most alarming evil, which has appeared to the grand jurors, is the too frequent confinement of convicted felons with those who are waiting for trial: and in some instances, against the positive provisions of law, the association of criminals with debtors.

'This is not owing to any want of attention in the sheriff or his worthy deputy, whose great tenderness and humanity the jurors have found worthy of all commendation, but to the number of persons confined and the construction of the building. There is but one apartment for white females; and whatever be the cause of commitment, all must occcupy the same room.'

Having pointed out the necessity for a new building, considered the expense of it, and the means by which this expense could be met, the jurors concluded by the following impressive remark.

'If in this respect [the expense] they are in error, they are certain that funds can be in other ways supplied.

'It cannot for a moment be admitted that the citizens of this prosperous and charitable county would tolerate the existence of misery, and disease, and wretchedness, and crime, if they could be removed by any reasonable demand on their wealth, and the grand jurors are willing to divide with the Court of Sessions the responsibility of informing their fellow citizens, that a tax for this purpose is required by the solemn obligations of duty, and that they are called upon to meet it by all their regard for justice, humanity, and reputation.'

The foregoing representation would not long since have been generally applicable throughout the Commonwealth, but in some counties an improvement in the old buildings has

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been made, in others new and spacious ones have been erected, and every where an attention has been awakened to the importance of the subject.

In the capital of the states, a large and convenient lot of land bordering on Charles river has been purchased, and preparation is making for erecting a building suitable to the purposes for which it is designed, and on a scale worthy the character of an intelligent and humane community.

When it is considered that all persons suspected of crime are first confined in the county gaols, that if their offence, as is commonly the case in the beginning of iniquity, is of a kind that renders confinement there after conviction a proper punishment by law, and that the discipline is chiefly if not altogether comprised in securing the prisoners with little or no regard to their morals, instruction, or employment, it will immediately appear that they are the most frightful seminaries of crime that can well be contrived, and that they will countervail, in a shocking manner, the beneficial tendencies of a penitentiary establishment.

The alarming increase of juvenile delinquency in England has recently excited there the most painful sensations. In this country melancholy examples of a similar nature have not been wanting, and our county gaols have been inhabited by many a youthful culprit, whom the humanity of the laws would not send to the penitentiary. Mistaken kindness! Instead of placing him, where his mind might be purified by instruction, and his habits of laziness made to yield to the necessity of labor, he is confined, without employment, among older villains, wastes his time in listening to their tales of profligacy, becomes an adept in the arts and the language of the craft, and is set free when he has become familiar with the persons and resorts of the violators of every statute of the country.

It is necessary that most of the older county prisons be reformed and many of them rebuilt; that rooms enough be made to give the means of complete classification; that a court yard for exercise, and workshops for labour be annexed to each of them, and that no person within the house be indulged in idleness, but made to work, whether the result be or be not profitable to the public: that instruction be provided, that spirituous liquors and implements of gambling be prohibited, and the prohibition enforced; that the sick be separated

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from the well, and that a wholesome severity of discipline be observed, which, having all due regard to humanity, should make the place dreaded by the idle, the vicious, the extravagant, and that great and increasing class of offenders, who minister to the corrupt passions of the community.

No objection can be made but to the expense of all this, and no expense can be so much required by charity and virtue and policy, and we might say by the most rigorous economy. The plan for this purpose is not within the objects of the present inquiry; but we are sure it is perfectly feasible without throwing an injurious burden on the community.

Having taken advantage of Mr. Roscoe's book to express so fully our own ideas on the important subject of punishment for crime, we have the less room to speak of the manner in which he has presented the subject to his readers. Whoever will consult the work will find it abounding in valuable facts, in forcible illustrations, and sound arguments. We have already suggested that the only exception we are disposed to take to it is that which proceeds from his enthusiasm; and that having disguised some of the evils which have as yet been found intrinsically belonging to his system, he prepares a disappointment for the public mind, which cannot but be injurious to these humane establishments.

Under a careful and prudent administration, we are satisfied the penitentiary system will answer all reasonable expectations. But the system must be theoretically complete and carefully executed. Its details must be intrusted to men of intelligence and humanity,—and something beyond the mere excitement of a pecuniary compensation be an inducement for their exertion. When this is accomplished, there will remain no doubt of its advantages, and that whether we take into view the security of society, the reformation of the offender, or the bad habits and feelings which are prevented by abstaining from cruel and barbarous exhibitions of punishment. It will be found the least of those evils which the perpetration of crime necessarily brings on the community.

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ART. XIV.—1. *Abhandlung ueber die leichteste und bequemste Methode die Bahne eines Cometen aus einigen Beobachtungen zu brechnen. Von Wilhelm Olbers, der Medicin Doctor, Mitgliede der kaiserlichen Akademie der Naturforscher, und der Königl. Societät zu Göttingen Correspondenten.* Weimar, 1797.——*A treatise upon the most easy and convenient method of computing the path of a comet, from several observations. By William Olbers, M. D.* Weimar, 1797.

2. *Theoria motus corporum cœlestium in sectionibus conicis solem ambientium, auctore Carolo Friderico Gauss.* Hamburghi, 1809.

OUR object in bringing these works into view at the present time is not so much to enter into a discussion of the subjects treated in them, as to call the attention of the astronomers and mathematicians of our country to some of the improvements in the science, which have been for some time in common use in Germany, but which are hardly known here. The first of these works treats of the shortest and most convenient method of computing the orbit of a comet from three geocentric observations. It is above twenty years since it was published, but it was not known in our country till very lately, when it came into some notice, in consequence of the extracts made from it by Delambre* in his astonomy, and even now it may be questioned whether there are two copies of the original work in the United States. It met with the same fate in Great Britain, as is evident from the Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the year 1811. That volume of the Transactions contains an interesting paper by Mr. Ivory on the theory of comets, in which, with his usual elegance, he discusses the subject in a manner somewhat original, and finally gives as his own a short and easy method to compute the orbit. This method upon examination turns out to be nothing more than that, which Dr. Olbers had published in the work before us, above seventeen years before, although this coincidence must have been wholly unknown to Mr. Ivory, and to the other members of the

* John Baptist Joseph Delambre was born at Amiens, Sept. 19, 1749. He is the greatest of the present French astronomers, and is well known by his tables of Jupiter, Saturn, and the satellites of Jupiter, his account of the measure of the arc of the meridian of France, his complete system of astronomy, his history of ancient astronomy, &c.

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Royal Society. We consider this as a striking instance of the little attention paid in Great Britain to works of mathematical science printed in Germany.

Another proof of this neglect of continental science, connected, we are happy to add, with an effort to amend it, is furnished by Mr. Lindenau, who, in the *Journal for Astronomy*, informs us that an advertisement was inserted in a late number of one of the first scientific journals in London, for a copy of Bode's *Anleitung zur Sternkunde, (Introduction to Astronomy,)* and *Uranographie*, which were not to be found in any of the shops in London.

It is not indeed with respect to mathematics and astronomy alone, that our brethren beyond the water are chargeable with a neglect of continental literature. We have as yet seen no notice of consequence, in any British Journal, of Mr. Bouterwek's History of English Poetry, which forms a portion of his large history of belles lettres in modern Europe. Sismondi has borrowed liberally from this work, and professes his obligations to it. And though a work embracing the elegant literature of the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, German, and English languages, cannot be expected to be executed equally well in every part, yet we surely have no book in our own language, which can claim equality with that portion of Mr. Bouterwek's, which treats of England. The French have long since translated the volumes, which contain the history of their literature; but those which are devoted to that of England are not even known to the nation most concerned to read them. There is in fact a supercilious-ness in the manner, in which our transatlantic brethren are apt to speak of Germany and German learning, highly unbecoming the courtesy of true scholarship, and unfavourable to the progress of learning. It is an inadequate excuse for this, that they do not understand the language and literature which they disparage. For besides that not understanding a thing is a poor excuse for vilifying it; the same unfriendly spirit prevails in those departments of study, which are pursued in the Latin language. We have never witnessed without regret the unfriendly tone assumed by so great and wonderful a man as Porson, toward scholars like Hermann and Jacobs; and this feeling of regret at a tone, which the unquestioned superiority of Porson might palliate in him, turns into disgust, when we see it imitated by such disciples as Bloomfield and

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Kidd, toward men like Seidler and Schæfer. The cause of classical learning in England needs not the aid of such an affectation of superiority. For, though the number of profound classical scholars is far greater in Germany than in England, and the progress made by the Germans in some parts of classical literature, as particularly the doctrine of the Greek metres, is beyond any thing which the English press has yet shown us, still the memory of Porson, and the reputation of Gaisford, Elmsley and Dobre, are praise enough for this generation, to enable it to enter honourably into the comparison with any other country or age, in the department of Greek literature.

We should not have dwelt so long on this topic, had not the cause of learning suffered a serious detriment from the unfriendly spirit in question, of which we will give one more instance. It is known to every biblical scholar, that the translation of Michaelis, by the present Bishop of Peterborough, the only living theologian of any considerable note in the church of England, has produced a new era in the science of theology in that country. It was therefore to be supposed that farther light and aid from this language would have come with a favourable prepossession to English biblical critics. So far has this fair expectation been disappointed, that every attempt to translate Eichhorn's Introduction to the Old Testament, a work in every respect incomparably superior to the Introduction of Michaelis to the New Testament, has been systematically discouraged. Dr. Geddes informs us in a Latin letter to Eichhorn, appended to Good's life of the Doctor, that on his presenting a proposal for such a translation to Bishop Horsley, he was treated with great rudeness by that prelate.

This might the sooner be pardoned from Bishop Horsley, who, not knowing the German language, might more naturally be insensible to the value of an author like Eichhorn. But what shall we say to language like that which we are about to quote from Bishop Marsh himself, the translator of Michaelis, whom ten years' residence at Leipsic must have put in a capacity, one would think, to translate any German author. 'Nor can it be necessary to say any thing more at present of Eichhorn's Introduction, which has never been translated, *and from the difficulties, both of the language and*

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of the subject, cannot be understood by many English readers.' (Lect. iii, *p.* 60, *Amer. edit.)* Does this mean that an English reader, *not* understanding German, would be unable to read the work? If it do, the proposition is correct to be sure, but singularly nugatory. If it mean that an English reader, understanding German, would still be unable to understand this work, we wonder at the assertion, and wholly deny its correctness.

We make these remarks without any fear of an invidious interpretation. Eichhorn's work is well known in this country, and as universally prized for its extent of erudition, as reprobated for the license of the theological views which it implies.

But to return to the works before us; the author of the first named, Dr. Olbers, is well known as one of the most distinguished astronomers of the present day. He was born at Arbergen, in Germany, Oct. 11, 1758, and now resides in Bremen, where he has erected an observatory upon the top of his house. He is skilful as a physician, but retired from practice, except in cases of friendship or charity; but particularly eminent as an astronomer and a mathematician. His most important publication is the work here mentioned. To him we owe the discovery of the planets Pallas and Vesta. He also discovered a very singular comet, or collection of shining matter, without a nucleus, and so extremely rare, that it did not obscure the smallest fixed stars, when passing centrally over them, and what is most remarkable, this small speck of light is revolving somewhat like a primary planet about the sun in a period of 75 years. The excellent character and talents of Dr. Olbers make him an object of the greatest respect and love. One of the most noted of the German astronomers, when giving an account of this little comet, says very happily, 'Our Olbers, the fortunate Columbus of the planetary world, was the discoverer of this wonderful star. Science and her votaries feel the most lively interest in this uncommon man, who, in his peaceful path marked with intellectual energy, has discovered to us three new worlds. In the strict sense of the word, he may be called the favourite of the heavens and of the earth, useful to all; in the day stretching forth his helping hand to relieve the distresses of suffering humanity, and in the darkness of the night penetrating into the farthest recesses of the starry firmament.'

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It is not our intention to go into a particular analysis of the improvements made by Dr. Olbers in his work, which could not be explained very easily without reference to a diagram. It will suffice to observe, that his solution of what Newton called *Problema longe difficilimum* is *direct*, by means of three equations of easy computation; and the importance of this solution may be estimated from the circumstance that Mr. Ivory, whose writings place him in the rank of the first mathematicians now living in Great Britain, adopted it, as much more easy than any other known method, as, for example, those of Boscovich, La place, Legendre, &c. Moreover, Delambre in his astronomy says, it is one of the most simple and ingenious methods that has ever been discovered.

The second work before us, *Theoria motus corporum*, &c. is by Professor Charles Frederic Gauss of Göttingen. He is a native, we believe, of Brunswick, and was first brought into notice at the high school there by the celebrated Zimmermann, to whom the mathematical talents of the young Gauss were accidentally made known, and who recommended him to the patronage of the Duke of Brunswick. He is now about 40 years old, and is considered one of the most accurate and rapid calculators in the world. He is eminent as an astronomer, and may be placed at the head of the German mathematicians. He has charge of the observatory at Göttingen. The prize medal founded by La Lande was awarded to him, for his *Theoria motus*, &c. by the National Institute of France. He has also published a celebrated work on the the theory of numbers, and several papers in scientific journals.

The chief object of his *Theoria motus corporum*, the work before us, is the solution of this general and important problem, *to determine the orbit of any heavenly body, by three geocentric observations, without any arbitrary hypothesis, the time elapsed between the observations being so small as to afford little or no room for selection, or for the application of any particular method*, and embracing every kind of orbit, whether it be an ellipsis, parabola, or hyperbola. This evidently includes Dr. Olbers' problem, which is limited to a parabola, as a particular case of the general solution. It would exceed the limits assigned to this article to analyze fully this important work; we shall therefore only mention the chief divisions and the objects treated of, with a few incidental remarks.

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The work is divided into two books, with the following title;

Liber primus. Relationes generales inter quantitates, per quas corporum cœlestium motus circa solem definiuntur.

Liber secundus. Investigatio orbitarum corporum cœlestium ex observationibus geocentricis.

The first book is divided into four sections.

1. Relationes ad locum simplicem in orbita spectantes.
2. Relationes ad locum simplicem in spatio spectantes.
3. Relationes inter locos plures in orbita.
4. Relationes inter locos plures in spatio.

The first section treats of the motion of a planet about the sun, in any conic section, and the whole theory of this motion in the ellipsis, parabola, and hyperbola, is reduced to equations between some of the elements of the orbit, the anomaly of the planet, and its distance from the sun. What deserves most notice for its novelty is the manner in which the *true* anomaly is deduced from the *mean*, in an orbit of great eccentricity, by a very simple, accurate, and elegant method, using an auxiliary table, computed carefully to seven places of decimals and given at the end of the work.

The situation of the planet in the plane of its orbit being found, as in the first section, it is referred to the ecliptic, to the equator, or to any other plane, by the theorem given in the second section; where are also various formulas useful in computing the geocentric places from the heliocentric, and the contrary; also several methods of finding or making allowance for the aberration and parallax, some of which are wholly new and remarkably well adapted to the calculation of the orbit of a comet or planet, where situation and motion have not been previously ascertained to a considerable degree of accuracy. Another very important part of this section consists in a very full explanation of the method of computing the variations of the geocentric longitude and latitude of a heavenly body produced by small variations in any or all the elements of the orbit.

The third section contains the solutions of several very useful problems. For example, 1. The computation of the elements of the orbit, from three heliocentric places and distances from the sun. 2. The deduction of the same elements

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from two heliocentric places and distances from the sun, together with the time elapsed between the two observations. The solution of this problem is new and very accurate, by means of tables given at the end of the work. 3. A demonstration of the famous theorem given by Lambert, to determine the elapsed time by means of the two *radii vectores* and the chord of the described arc of any conic section. In the fourth section some of the formulas contained in the third are generalized. In these sections are many theorems in spherical trigonometry first discovered and published by Professor Gauss.

The second book is likewise divided into four sections, viz.

1. Determinatio orbitæ e tribus observationibus completis.
2. Determinatio orbitæ e quatuor observationibus, quarum duæ tantum completæ sunt.
3. Determinatio orbitæ observationibus quotcunque quam proxime satis facientis.
4. De determinatione orbitarum, habitâ ratione perturbationum.

In the first section, is explained the manner of correcting the three proposed observations for the effects of aberration and parallax, also the method of obtaining, by successive operations, the elements of the orbit, when they had been found nearly by a previous calculation; afterwards the principles of the different method which may be used for the first approximation are pointed out, and that which was found upon examination to be the most simple is explained in all its details. In the preparatory calculation, some of the principles of Dr. Olbers' method are used and the process is finally reduced to an equation of the transcendent kind but of very easy solution, by means of a table of sines, so that by repeating the operation two or three times, the required elements of the orbit may be obtained to a considerable degree of accuracy. To illustrate the method there are given three examples; in one of which the place of the planet is referred to the equator by its right ascension and declination, instead of the usual method of the longitude and latitude, which has sometimes the advantage, particularly when it is required to compare a great number of *observed* right ascensions and declinations with the *computed* places, to obtain by their general combination the most correct values of the elements.

When the inclination of the orbit is small, the least error

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in the latitude might produce a considerable difference in the place of the node and in the elements of the orbit. In this case it is necessary to depend more upon the longitudes of the planet, by using four observations instead of three, and this case is treated of where the formulas necessary for the solution are investigated and an example is given to illustrate them.

When a great number of observations of a heavenly body have been obtained, all of which are liable to small errors, and no reason why any particular portion should be selected in preference to the rest as the basis to determine the orbit; it becomes a question how to combine the whole so as to obtain the most accurate result. The method proposed by Professor Gauss and used by him since the year 1795 (and which was also invented by Legendre a few years afterwards) is the principle known by the name of the *least squares*: which consists in this; the difference between the *computed* and *observed* place being considered as the error of the observation, those elements are to be selected, which will render *the sum of the squares of all these errors a minimum.* This principle is now generally used by mathematicians and astronomers, and it is explained by Professor Gauss in the third section of the second book.

The fourth section contains the method of correcting the elements for the effect of the disturbing forces of the planets. This cannot be done till the orbit has been nearly ascertained by previous caculation, and then the perturbations being computed in this orbit and applied to the observed places will give the corrected values, to be used in finding the true elements of the motion.

The importance of the improved methods of Professor Gauss was exemplified several times in the computation of the orbits of the four new planets, particularly Ceres, discovered by Piazzi,* a few days before its conjunction with the sun. It remained obscured in the sun's rays above ten months, and after the conjunction it was sought for in vain, during several weeks, by many European astronomers; at length Baron Zach, furnished with an ephemeris of its motion computed by Professor Gauss, found it again the first clear night

* Joseph Piazzi, known by the discovery of the planet Ceres and by his excellent catalogue of the fixed stars, was born at Ponte in Italy in 1746. He has now the direction of the celebrated observatory at Palermo in Sicily.

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he looked for it. The great simplicity of these methods, as well as the astonishing rapidity with which Professor Gauss peforms such laborious calculations, is shown in the very remarkable instance of his computing (to a considerable degree of accuracy) in the period of *eight* hours, the orbit of the planet Vesta, with observations embracing a period of only nineteen days' motion. Fifty years ago it would have been considered as the labour of several days to find from such data the parabolic orbit of a comet, which is a much more simple problem, than that undertaken and completed by Professor Gauss.

The two works we have mentioned would alone show the usefulness of a greater attention to the scientific improvements of German astronomers, and we might if it were necessary give farther proof by inserting a large catalogue of useful works on the science of astronomy, printed in the German language. But we shall limit ourselves to a short notice of three of their most noted periodical publications, namely, Bode's *Astronomisches Jahrbuch, (Astronomical Ephemeris,) Baron Zach's Monatliche Correspondenz, (Monthly Correspondence,)* and the *Zeitschrift für Astronomie, (Journal of Astronomy,)* by Lindenau and Bohnenberger. The first of these works, published at Berlin by Bode, since the year 1776, contains (besides the calculations usually found in an ephemeris) a valuable collection of tables and formulas, of such importance to astronomers, that De la Lande was induced to say, that from the epoch of its first publication astronomers *were obliged to learn the German language, as they could not dispense with the use of that work.* The publication is still continued, and the whole set now consists of about forty five octavo volumes, which may be procured for sixty dollars.

The *Monatliche Correspondenz* contains a most valuable collection of original and selected papers and tables on astronomy and geography, published at Gotha from 1800 to 1813, making in all twenty eight octavo volumes, of about 600 pages each. It comprises almost every thing that was done for the improvement of astronomy and geography during that period, and contains the latitudes and longitudes of thousands of places in every part of the globe, determined by trigonometrical surveys and astronomical observations. The whole can be purchased in Europe for the moderate sum of thirty two dollars. The editor, Francis Xavier de Zach, is a Bar-

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on of the German empire, and was born at Pest in Hungary, June 15, 1754. After visiting most of the observatories in Europe, he took charge of the excellent one erected at Seeberg near Gotha, where he continued with great usefulness for many years. He published new solar tables and other tables of great value, was the founder and chief conductor of the work we are mentioning, which contains many of his papers, and is now the editor of a similar work, printed in the French language at Geneva, entitled *Correspondence astronomique, geographique, hydrographique et statistique.*

The *Zeitschrift für Astronomie*, printed at Tübingen, was begun in 1816, upon the same plan as the preceding work. It contains an excellent introduction by Lindenau, giving an account of the labours of astronomers in all parts of the world from the time of the discontinuance of the publication of the *Monatliche Correspondenz*, also many original papers and valuable extracts from the transactions of the learned societies in different parts of the world, making it very interesting to an astronomer. Unfortunately for science this work was discontinued in 1818, after the publication of five small octavo volumes. Mr. Von Lindenau, the chief editor of this journal, assisted also very much in the publication of the Monatliche Correspondenz of Von Zach, and communicated several of his valuable papers to that work. He has given improved tables of Mercury, Venus, and Mars; and had the direction of the observatory at Seeburg after it had been left by Von Zach.

These, and many other excellent scientific works, have been scarcely heard of in this country, from the prejudice which so generally exists that the German language is extremely difficult to learn. But it is a fact that this is not the case, so far as regards the acquirement of a *sufficient knowledge of the language to read mathematical books.* The labour necessary to obtain this limited portion of the language is not much more, than could be requisite to make the same progress in the French, which, as is well known, can be acquired with ease in a very short time. The experience of the writer of this article warrants him in the assertion, that two hours in the day for four or five months, even without the aid of a teacher, would be amply sufficient for any one who is moderately skilled in the mathematical sciences, and possessed with no more than the usual capacity for learning a language, to read

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the works of German astronomers and mathematicians with tolerable facility. This surely would be but a very small expense of time to obtain a knowledge of the native language of Kepler, Mayer, Herschel, Zach, Gauss, Bessel,* Burg,† Lindenau, Burckhardt,‡ and a multitude of others of celebrity, to whom the science of astronomy owes some of its most important improvements. To Kepler we are indebted for the foundation of modern astronomy, by his discovery of the laws of the elliptical motion of the planets. To Mayer, eminent for his mathematical talents, his remarkable accuracy in observation and most indefatigable zeal, (which have justly entitled him to the appellation of one of the most eminent astronomers that ever lived,) we owe an excellent catalogue of the fixed stars, and the important improvements in the lunar tables, which first enabled navigators to determine, by observation, the longitude at sea. These tables received their last improvements, which have given to them their present convenient form and astonishing degree of accuracy through the immense labours of Burg and Burckhardt, who have been rewarded by the board of longitude of France.

For these tables, it is well known that a portion of the longitude prize was paid by the Parliament of Great Britain to the widow and children of Mayer, that astronomer not having lived himself to receive this reward. His son now fills the chair of natural philosophy in the University of Göttingen.

Out of *thirteen* primary planets and satellites discovered since the year 1781, we are indebted to persons born in Germany for *twelve*, and in the determination of the orbits of these new bodies, they have done more than all the other as-

* Frederick William Bessel is now about 37 years old. He was regularly educated at Bremen for a mercantile profession, but quitted it (by the advice of Doctor Olbers) to pursue an object more congenial to the natural bent of his genius, and devoted himself, with great ardor, to astronomy with brilliant success. He has now the direction of the new and excellent observatory at Königsberg, and has published several works which do him great honour, particularly the *Fundamenta Astronomiæ*, &c. being a complete analysis of Dr. Bradley's observations.

† John Tobias Burg was born Dec 24, 1766, at Vienna, where he still resides; he has published several papers, but is most known for his excellent lunar tables.

‡ John Charles Burckhardt was born at Leipsic, in Germany, April 30, 1773, but is now a resident at Paris, where he has published excellent lunar tables, also a set of tables to compute the place of a comet, being an improvement on those given by Delambre, Vince, &c.

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tronomers in the world. It is true, that Herschel resided in England when he discovered Uranus and the satellites, and his papers are written in our own language. He was born in Hanover in 1738, and came originally we believe to England, attached, in some subordinate capacity, to the German legion. Besides the planet Uranus and its six satellites, he has also discovered two satellites of Saturn, many double stars, nebulæ, &c. These discoveries have been all made in England, where he has been established in an observatory by the munificence of his sovereign. It is remarkable that the *planet* first discovered by Herschel had been observed at least ten times before as a *fixed star* by some of the most eminent astronomers, namely Flamsteed in 1690, 1712, 1715; Bradley in 1753; Mayer in 1755, and Le Monnier in 1764 and 1768

Notwithstanding the exception to be made of the works of this last mentioned astronomer which are in English, as also of the Latin works of other German astronomers, our readers will easily see, from the imperfect enumeration which we have made, that much remains for which a knowledge of the German language is indispensable to the astronomer.

Having, in the course of this article, given a few biographical hints of the eminent astronomers mentioned, we cannot allow ourselves to pass over the most distinguished name which it contains, without a similar notice. Peter Simon de la Place, Count of the French empire, was born at Beaumont-en-Auge, March 24, 1749, and is allowed by all to be the greatest mathematician now living. The volumes of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the National Institute of Paris, contain many of his memoirs, and he has published separately several works, particularly his *Exposition du système du monde* and his *Theorie analytique des probabilités*, and above all others his *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*, which is a complete system, explaining fully the effects of gravity upon the figures and motions of the heavenly bodies. Of the many discoveries he has made, we shall mention a few of the most remarkable for the sake of readers not conversant with his works. 1. The theory of the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, in which he discovered a very great *equation*, whose period is 917 years. This has enabled astronomers to account for several inequalities, which had for many years been observed in the motions of those planets. 2. The very remarkable equa-

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tions which regulate the mean motions and the mean longitudes of the three inner satellites of Jupiter, called with great propriety, by Biot, *La Place's laws*. 3. The cause of the acceleration of the moon's motion. 4. An accurate determination of the sun's parallax by means of a small inequality in the moon's motion. 5. The quantity by which the earth is flattened at the poles, discovered by means of two small inequalities in the moon's motions. 6. The laws of capillary attraction. 7. Complete formulas and calculations of the perturbations of the motions of the planets. These discoveries, together with a multitude of improvements in analysis and in every branch of mathematical knowledge, place this immortal man far above any of his contemporaries in the walks of science.

We may here be permitted to add, what the delicacy of our learned correspondent led him to omit, that a translation of the entire work of the Mécanique Céleste, of de la Place, with a copious commentary, has been completed by the Hon. N. Bowditch; who has not, however, yet been prevailed upon to do honour to himself and to his country, by the publication of so great and arduous a work.

ART. XV.—*Remarks on the pronunciation of the Greek Language, occasioned by a late essay on the same subject, by John Pickering, A. A. S. By W. F. Moore.* New York, 1819, 8vo. pp. 46.

THE pronunciation of the Latin and Greek languages is not, as many students in their closets have supposed, a subject of mere curiosity, and worthy only to employ the learned leisure of an antiquarian. On the contrary, every man who has either been an instructer of youth, or has had ocasion to travel and have intercourse with the learned of different nations, has felt the want of a well settled and uniform pronunciation of those languages. We, indeed, in this country are accustomed to consider even the Latin as literally a dead language; but no sooner do we set our foot on the continent of Europe than we find, to our mortification, that we have been in a gross error. We then see, that it is in daily use not only as a medium of intercourse between learned strangers

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of different nations, but also in the lecture room between the professor and the pupil of the same nation. The first thing, therefore, that we find ourselves obliged to do upon visiting the society of the scholars of Europe, is to sit down to the humble task of studying, like school-boys, the familiar dialogues of Erasmus and other writers who furnish us with as pure colloquial Latin as can at this day be attained, or perhaps need be desired. But here again our English mode of pronouncing the language presents another obstacle to our intercourse with the scholars of the continent; and we are continually exposed to the censure which Joseph Scaliger is said to have bestowed with so little ceremony upon our English brethren, from the same cause: 'Anglorum vero etiam doctissimi tam pravè Latine efferunt, ut in hac urbe, quum quidam ex ea gente per quadrantem horæ integrum apud me verba fecisset, neque ego magis eum intelligerem quam si Turcicè loquutus fuisset, hominem rogaverim ut excusatum me haberet, quod Anglicè non bene intelligerem.' *Epist.* p 700.

What then is to be done on our part under this pressure of embarrassments; this conflict between our old habits on the one hand and the certainty of being unintelligible on the other? We know of no remedy, unless by common consent the general pronunciation of the continent of Europe should be adopted; we say, the general pronunciation, because we ought not adopt the peculiarities of any of the continental nations; we would not, for example, say with the Germans *nyter* or *noiter* for *neuter*, nor with the Italians *Tchitchero* for *Cicero*, and still less would we, with the French, throw the accent uniformly on the last syllable; but we would make the general continental pronunciation of the letters, especially of the vowels, the basis of the system. This would qualify us to converse, and to read and study advantageously, with the scholars of the continent; and at the same time enable us to read without that effort of attention which it now costs us, the many philological and other writings of those scholars relating to the interesting nations of antiquity.

The remarks which we have here made in respect to the Latin language are also, in some measure, applicable to the Greek; though an uniform pronunciation of the latter is not of so much importance, practically speaking, as of the former. In Greek, however, we possess one advantage, or, as some

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may think, we are under one disadvantage, which does not exist in the case of the Latin; that is, that there is still a nation of no contemptible importance in point of numbers, whatever some may think of them in other respects, who, at this day, use a language, and pronunciation too, as they contend, which is in substance almost the same with that of their ancestors in the classic ages; and from these living instructers, therefore, we may learn a pronunciation which can lay claim to a very considerable antiquity. If we should ever be able satisfactorily to trace back this pronunciation no farther than about the period of the christian era, we presume there would be no hesitation among the learned of all countries in adopting it; because, independently of the advantage of an easy intercourse between scholars of all nations, the *pronunciation* would be just as much an essential part of this, as it is of the French, German, or any other language. Here, then, we meet the great point in controversy, Whether the present pronunciation of the Greeks is the same with that which their ancestors used down to the period when their *written* language suffered such a change as to be no longer considered classical; a period, which different persons, according to their different tastes, will fix either about the christian era, or within a century or two after it. Not that we might not content ourselves with a pronunciation of far less antiquity than that; for as Bishop Horsley observes, notwithstanding corruptions 'It may reasonably be supposed, that the pronunciation of the Greek language, even in the time of Eustathius, who flourished in the begining of the thirteenth century, much more nearly resembled the pronunciation of the best ages, than any thing we can substitute for it now.'*

Mr Pickering, in his essay on this subject, which was published in the last volume of the American Academy's Memoirs, (and which was examined at large in the twenty fourth number of this journal,) observes, 'that he had formerly adopted the very prevalent opinion, that the pronunciation of the Modern Greeks was grossly corrupt;' but that in the investigation of the subject which he was led to make, in consequence of conversations with individuals of the nation, he had found strong reasons for changing his opinion; he now thinks it in the highest degree probable, 'that the Greeks of

* Prosodies of the Greek and Latin languages, p. 54.

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the present day pronounce very nearly as their ancestors did, as early as the commencement of the chri tian era, or at least just after that period;' and he has, 'without making any pretensions to new or original remarks, selected such facts and observations of the writers on this subject, as appear to be the most important in a general view of the question;' and such as he hoped would 'incite some persons of more leisure and ability than himself to prosecute this interesting inquiry.'*

Mr. Moore, whose work we propose now briefly to examine, is a professor of Greek at Columbia college in New York, and he appears to have much of the spirit and zeal of a scholar; a zeal not as yet wholly chastised by that caution and circumspection, which his riper studies, we doubt not, will induce. The want of this caution has led him into some errors, which he will not be offended with us for pointing out.

Mr. Moore begins as if under a strong impulse of alarm, lest Mr. Pickering's 'ingenious essays should, by leading others to the same conclusion at which he [Mr. Pickering] seems to have arrived himself, be the means of introducing in any degree into this country a pronunciation that appears to be with good reason almost universally condemned and rejected by the learned of the present age,' and in order to avert, if possible, this mischievous consequence, Mr. Moore has 'thrown together these remarks.'†

Mr. Moore has here fallen into one of those errors, to which we have just alluded, in asserting that the pronunciation of the Modern Greeks (or the *Reuchlinian*, as it is called,) is 'almost universally condemned and rejected by the learned of the present age.' He does not appear to be correctly informed of the present state of the question in Europe.

The Erasmian pronunciation, it is true, is the prevalent one on the continent of Europe, and it is perhaps becoming regularly more prevalent. But the Reuchlinian has engaged a good deal of the attention of eminent scholars, for some time past, and is not without the most respectable advocates for some of its peculiarities. We have been informed, from the best authority, that Wolf, the celebrated editor of Homer, and, in some departments of the science, the acknowledged head of the German philologists, has in an attempt to fix the ancient

* Memoirs of the American Academy, vol. v.

† Remarks, pp. 4, 5. See also remark to the same effect, p. 8.

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pronunciation of the Greek, given the modern Greek a respectable place on the list of twenty three different languages, from which he collects the sounds that he considers most nearly approaching the ancient. Wolf's essay on this subject, which was in manuscript at the time we received our information, has already perhaps appeared. Mr. Hase, a native German, but for a long time resident at Paris, a favourite pupil of Villoison, and one of the conservators of the manuscripts in the library of the king, reads an annual course of lectures on the modern Greek, and gives his opinion in favour of several of the Reuchlinian peculiarities. The pronunciation moreover is used in some of the schools in Austria and South Germany, and as we are informed, on good authority, in Sweden. There is reason also to presume that it is used in Russia, though we have no authority for asserting that it is. It is also used in Geneva.

Perhaps the strongest authority for Mr. Moore's remark, which he does not however himself allege, is the language of Hermann toward the beginning of the second chapter of his admirable work, de emendandâ ratione Græcæ Grammaticæ. He there says, 'Illorum quidem sententia qui cum hodiernâ Græcæ linguæ pronunciatione veterem conspirasse putant, merito ita jam a viris doctis contempta est, ut si quis hodie eam defendere auderet, ridendum se ac despiciendum præbere videretur.' But this strong language of Hermann, a scholar by the way whose warmth of statement is not less remarkable than his erudition, was used eighteen years ago; since which period the distinguished critics whose names we have quoted have given the sanction of their authority to several points of the Reuchlinian pronunciation. Moreover Hermann himself, in a subsequent chapter of this work, makes this very remarkable concession, which abstracts much from the justice of the general remark just quoted from him. 'Digna hodierno Græciæ servitio ea lingua est, quam nunc in illis regionibus loquuntur, in quibus olim, florentibus rebus Græcorum, ad summum sermo humanus pervenerat fastigium. Non potuere tamen omnia veteris linguæ monumenta, *ne in pronunciatione quidem*, funditus extirpari. Sed quod merito quis miretur, etsi in vocalium usu omnia immutata sint, *Consonantium tamen vim*, secus atque in aliis linguis accidisse videmus, *integram ac genuinam* usque ad hunc diem Græcia conservavit.' Not only does Hermann, in this passage, allow

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that the modern Greeks have retained the pure and genuine sound of the consonants, but he had previously approved their pronunciation of αι, and as it should seem, of ει. His words are—Mihi quidem αι recte videtur ab Reuchlinianis ita pronunciari ut media sit inter *a* and *e*'—And 'Diphthongum ει male pronunciari plenâ voce ut Germanicum *ei* aut Britannorum *i* longum vel Latina lingua docere potest, quæ istam diphthongum nunc in *e* nunc in *i* mutat, &c. Ex quibus merito colligi videtur, diphthongi ει sonum fuisse medium inter *e* et *i*,' &c. For the sake of illustrating more fully the state of the controversy on the continent of Europe, we add a remark or two from Buttmann and Matthiæ, after Hermann the most distinguished Greek grammarians in Germany. The former in his larger Greek grammar says, 'among the modern ways of pronouncing the Greek, the two most considerable are the Reuchlinian and the Erasmian. We adopt the latter in this work, not only as it is constantly becoming more universal, but as it has the greatest internal proof.' &c. p. 12 of the 7th edit. Mr. Buttmann, however, observes in a note, a few pages farther on, 'that it is by no means his intention to maintain that the modern pronunciation is merely a corruption of the ancient. On the contrary, it is clear from many traces, that the modern pronunciation is, for the most part, really grounded on an ancient pronunciation. This, however, could not have been that prevailing in the predominant dialect.' p. 18. This suggestion, that the modern Greek pronunciation probably coincides, to a great degree, with an ancient provincial pronunciation is worthy of attention. It ought to be examined in connexion with the theory of Psalida, and other learned modern Greeks, who maintain, in opposition to the school of Coray, that the present Romaic is not to be viewed as a corruption of the ancient tongue, but as the remains, in a considerable degree unchanged, of an ancient dialect, which they call the Æolo-Doric. Certain it is, that several words, now set down among the barbarisms of the modern Greek, are ancient colloquial words, which were not elevated into the written language. The number of words traced to this source would no doubt be much greater than it now is, did not the nature of the case make it almost impossible for us to know any thing of the ancient spoken language, as distinct from the written. Coray in his notes to Heliodorus quotes a striking instances in the word *Phingari*,

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the modern Greek for *moon*, and shows, from several authorities, particularly that of Aristophanes, that φέγγος was applied by the ancients to moon, in distinction from φῶς, which was used of the sun. (ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ Αἰθιοπικῶν. Μερ. Β. σελ. 289, 290.) The Romaic for wine, κρασὶ, is, we doubt not, of equally respectable orgin, for Suidas defines it to be μίξις οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, an accurate definition of wine, we are sure, in most of the taverns of the earth. We are not sure that as much, if not more, might not be said for the antiquity of the Romaic, as of the Italian; and it is well known that scholars, second to none in learning and ingenuity, have maintained that modern Italian is a form of Latin already existing in the Augustine age. The various shades of this opinion as maintained by Aretino, Bembo, Quadrio, and Maffei, may be seen briefly quoted by Tiraboschi, Storia della Letterat. Ital. Tom. iii. præf.

To return to the point immediately before us, viz. the present standing of the Reuchlinian pronunciation in Europe, we only add that Matthiæ thus speaks of it. 'We have in Germany two modes of pronouncing the Greek vowels and consonants. According to one, which was recommended by Reuchlin, and which agrees with the pronunciation of the modern Greeks, η, ει, and οι are pronounced as *i*, αυ like *af*, αι like *æ*, and ευ like *ef*. The other mode was introduced by Erasmus, and is preferable, were it only for its greater clearness.' p. 14. When he comes to the consonants, he of course gives the preference to several of the Reuchlinian sounds. As the authorities, which we have hitherto adduced apply only to the transalpine nations, we add that we have repeatedly been told by pupils of the Abbè Caluso, mentioned in the first article of our present volume, the learned friend of Alfieri, and a professor in the university at Turin, that this distinguished scholar gave the preference to the modern Greek pronunciation.

In page 6, of his remarks, Mr. Moore seems to have fallen into an error, by following too closely a single author, though one of celebrity, instead of comparing the accounts of various writers. He observes, that the present pronunciation of the modern Greeks 'differs in some respects from that which Caninius describes as the vulgar pronunciation of his time, and condemns as absurd. According to him, the diphthong αι

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also had the same sound with the six vowels and diphthongs, to which Mr. Pickering assigns the single sound of ι.' Mr. Moore, here taking it for granted, that this remark of Caninius is well founded, and rightly supposing that the reader would expect him to reconcile this extraordinary assertion with what other writers state to be the fact, namely, that αι was sounded like ε and not like ι, adds this observation: 'This *further change* may, perhaps, have taken place in the language of the modern Greeks during the two hundred and seventy years that have elapsed since Caninius wrote.' p. 6. But Mr. Moore need not have given himself the trouble of solving a difficulty, which he will perceive upon further reflection did not exist; for it is clear that Caninius, with all his learning, must have been mistaken as to the general usage of the Greeks, when he asserts that they gave the diphthong αι the same sound with ει and the other diphthongs and vowels mentioned by him. We venture to make this remark, because, according to the biographers, Caninius published his work in 1555, (only about five and twenty years after the Erasmian controversy was begun,) and as in that whole controversy it is taken for granted by the other writers on both sides, that the Greeks then pronounced the diphthong αι like ε, it is impossible that Caninius can be correct in asserting that at the same period they pronounced it like ει, ι, &c.

We have made these remarks on the introductory portion of Mr. Moore's essay, certainly not from a desire to differ from him, but to point out the real state of the controversy, which he appears to have misapprehended; and to make it apparent that an investigation of this delicate nature ought to be conducted with great care and deliberation; and that it is not safe to rely implicitly upon single writers on the one side or on the other, because their prejudices or want of information may mislead us, in respect to some points of essential importance in the inquiry. We may add, that the mere authority of names in this case is of little weight; we do not want opinions, but facts. It is also not our intention to take part in the controversy between Mr. Pickering and Mr. Moore, if a controversy can be said to exist between them; not that we are without an opinion of our own, but that we do not think it necessary to descend with our humble interference into the arena, while two such able combatants are engaged. We shall confine ourselves to the simple inquiry, in what

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manner Mr. Moore has replied to the principal statements of Mr. Pickering.

Mr. Moore observes, that 'the most obvious objection to the Reuchlinian pronunciation is the similar sound it gives to so many vowels and diphthongs, and the consequent difficulty of discriminating many words in discourse, and understanding what is spoken.' p. 9. To this objection Mr. Pickering had made the answer which was given by a native Greek to the English professor, Winterton, namely, that words of the same sound, but different in meaning, are distinguished by the *construction*; as in fact they are in other languages. As it is a question not what a pronunciation *a priori* ought to be, but what it can be believed in fact to have been, we conceive this answer to be perfectly conclusive; and we think every man, who has studied any language beside his own, will feel the full force of it. Mr. Moore himself, indeed, while attempting to reply to it in general terms, evades the real question, and contents himself with observing, that 'this argument may in fact be turned with some force against the *expe iency*, at least of the modern Greek pronunciation.' But the question is not whether it is *expedient* to adopt the pronunciation of the modern Greeks, but whether, in point of fact, their pronunciation is substantially that of the ancients. 'Postremo, ut verbo defungar (to apply a remark of Wolff's) tota quæstio nostra historica et critica est, non de *optabili* re, sed de re *facta*' *Præf. Homer. p. 23, fol Lips.* 1806

To soften a little the difficulty arising from this ambiguity of the Reuchlinian pronunciation, Mr. Pickering, in his Memoir, p. 17, quoted seven vowels or diphthongs, *æ. e, ee, ea, ei, ie,* and *i,* which have all, in English, the same sound a *æ* in Cæsar. But this sort of ambiguity is not confined to the English. Barruel observes (in his plan d' education nationale considereé sous le rapport des livres elementaires, p. 46. 47.) 'Je ne citerai qu' un seul exemple, pour faire sentir combien notre orthographie est vicieuse Nous avons environ *trente manières* de representer le son *an,* qui est un son simple, pour lequel il suffiroit d' une seule lettre, comme on le voit dans les mots suivans, y comprenant ceux, qui sont susceptibles de recevoir un *s,* pour le pluriel; Adam, Camp, êmbleme, tems, Alcoran, flanc, Marchand, Sang. Sans, Mordant, Rouen, Je defends, il defend, hareng, encens, evident, mangeant, Caen, Paon.'

Mr. Moore admits, p. 13 that sixteen letters of the alpha-

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bet are pronounced by the Erasmians and Reuchlinians very nearly alike; so that he does not consider it necessary to bring them under discussion. If then so large a proportion of the letters are allowed by the Erasmians to be pronounced right, or very nearly right by the modern Greeks, Mr. Pickering could not be thought rash in arguing, that they also pronounce the others with about the same degree of correctness; and the more so, as the present pronunciation of some of those sixteen letters (for example, ϑ, χ, and some others,) is defended principally, if not entirely, on the ground of the usage of the modern Greeks.

It would of course carry us out of our limits to follow Mr. Moore through every page of his pamphlet; we must, however, occasionally go a little into detail in respect to the rules and principles, by which scholars have been usually governed in this inquiry, but upon some of which Mr. Moore seems to place no reliance whatever. We must, for instance, differ from him entirely in his mode of treating the arguments founded upon the false spellings, which are so common in manuscripts and inscriptions. The learned have hitherto considered these false spellings as affording pretty satisfactory evidence of the pronunciation of the ancient languages; for as the words were dictated, the copyist, unless very accurately acquainted with the established orthography of the language he was writing, would be very likely to substitute, for the true letter or syllable of a word, such other letters or syllables as had the same, or nearly the same sound with the true ones. A single instance or two, indeed, of this nature throughout the whole range of ancient literature would not be very important to us in this case; but when we find certain letters continually interchanged in the MSS. and other monuments of antiquity, we can draw no other conclusion than the one common among the learned—that those letters must have closely resembled each other in sound. Le Clerc observes—'Non minor est confusio in Græcis, imo major, quod soni trium vocalium, et plurium diphthongorum *non multum, in Græca lingua, diversi essent*; η, nempe, ι, et υ sono valde erant adfinia; diphthongique αι, αυ, ει, ευ, ηυ, οι et υι pæne idem sonabant auribus parum adtentis, aut si minus distincte pronunciarentur.' The learned author then adds—'Hinc fit ut et inter se et cum tribus memoratis litteris [η, ι, υ] in antiquissimis MSS. misceantur. Ac sæpe quoque

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confunditur cum ε, non secus ac AE apud Latinos.* We must, therefore, enter our protest against such an observation as the following of Mr. Moore's on so acknowledged a rule of criticism; that the false spelling in the Herculaneum manuscript, 'seems to prove nothing but the ignorance or negligence of the copyist, and the little reliance to be placed on arguments drawn from their practice!' p. 22. Suppose a Greek, who had made himself acquainted with the common orthography of the English language, should find certain letters and syllables perpetually interchanged in our writings, as we now do in those of his nation; as, for example, if he should happen to fall upon that whimsical looking volume of our learned countryman, Mr. Webster, '*Fugitiv* Writings,' and should there meet with such a passage as the following: 'I very *erly discuvered*, that *altho* the name of an old respectable *karacter givs* credit and consequence to *hiz ritings*, yet the name of a *yung* man *iz* often prejudicial to *hiz* performances.'—'Much time *haz* been spent, which I do not regret, and much censure incurred, which my *hart* tells me I do not *deserv*.' *Pref.* p. 9 & 10; if the Greek, we say, should, not only in Mr. Webster's fanciful book, but in other English writings, continually meet with such deviations from the established orthography of our language, whether it proceeded from 'ignorance' or not, would he not naturally conclude that these were only different modes of denoting the same or kindred sounds?

At p. 13, Mr. Moore proceeds to consider the sound of the letter β, which the modern Greeks, it is well known, pronounce, as nearly as possible, like our V. Now as the Latin B in modern times has had the sound which Europeans in general give to that letter in their own languages, it has been inferred by the Erasmian writers, that the Greek β had also that sound; it being the prevailing opinion that the Greeks and Romans used these letters to express the same, or very nearly the same sound. Mr. Pickering, without denying that the two letters might anciently denote the same, or nearly the same sound, observes, that there are 'many strong reasons for doubting whether either of them had formerly the distinct sound of the modern B;' but he thinks it probable that they both had a sound more like V than B; and he discribes it as 'perhaps a sound between our V and our W.'†

* Ars Critic. p. iii. sect. i. c. 6. vol. ii. p. 58, edit. 1778.
† P. 26, 29, 31.

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The Romans unquestionably pronounced their B much after this manner as early as the fourth century at least; and this pronunciation has been handed down to our own times, in the Spanish language, the most legitimate daughter of the Latin. How much earlier the Romans pronounced it in this manner, it may not be easy to determine, but we know of no decisive indications of any material change having taken place at that period. Hence Mr. Pickering's inference that the Greek β was anciently pronounced much as it now is, viz. like our V, is by no means improbable. We notice here with reluctance a remark of Mr. Moore's, which does not breathe that respect to which Mr. Pickering is so eminently entitled, and which is made on an expression of Mr. Pickering's, in which the Spaniards and Portuguese are called a Roman colony. 'I do not understand,' says Mr. Moore (p. 14 note) 'what Mr. Pickering means by calling the Spaniards and Portuguese a Roman colony.' It is evident, that Mr. Pickering meant the same thing that Mr. Moore does, who adds to this remark of his own: 'These countries were, it is true, reduced to the form of provinces, of which they constituted three, and *colonies* were sent into various parts of them.' Mr. Pickering in the same note, of which Mr. Moore has cited a part, speaks of them as 'the *provinces* of Spain and Portugal.' In the same note Mr. Moore makes this observation—'that Latin was ever so well spoken there [in Spain and Portugal] as in Italy is very improbable.' On re-perusing the essay of Mr. Pickering, Mr. Moore will see that he has not accurately attended to the force of the observation which he is here combating. Mr. Pickering does not say that Latin was as well spoken in those provinces, as in Italy; on the contrary, he supposes their pronunciation to have been 'tinctured perhaps with a *provincial* rusticity;' but he remarks that, notwithstanding this, he has often thought it probable 'that *more* of the ancient masculine pronunciation' may have been retained in those provinces than in Italy, for the causes which he assigns. To revert, however, to the main point, Mr. Moore is by no means willing to grant that β may anciently have been pronounced like V, and his reason for dissenting is, 'because the Latin V consonant had not the sound of the modern Greek β, but of our W; and the Greeks, having no single character to express this sound, either used β as an approximation to it, or rendered it more exactly by

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their diphthong ου.' p. 14. Now to this may be rejoined, that there is not so essential a difference between the letters V and W, as to affect the argument adopted by Mr. Pickering; for he defends the usage of the modern Greeks in this instance by supposing that the β of the Greeks and the B of the Romans anciently had 'perhaps a sound between our V and W;' which the Greeks, in writing Roman words, sometimes expressed by β and sometimes by the diphthong ου.' This last fact incontestably proves, that ου and β must have closely resembled each other; and whether they had the broad and lax sound of W or the more compressed one of V, the modern Greeks would have pretty good grounds for maintaining their present pronunciation. We shall have occasion to add some further remarks upon this letter, when we come to another part of Mr. Moore's pamphlet. Meantime we remark that Mr. Moore, at p. 28, in a note, cites very properly on this same point the authority of Dawes, an Englishman; but when he proceeds to couple with him the continental scholar Vossius, who says of the Romans—'V efferbant ut Germani duplex W,' it is apparent that Mr. Moore has overlooked the circumstance that the German W is substantially the English V.

Of the letter γ, observes Mr. Moore, 'I have nothing to say in addition to what Mr. Pickering has said; except that the dispute, though it may be dropt, will probably never be decided, since neither party can find arguments that will be conclusive to prove itself in the right, p. 16. We see no reason for Mr. Moore's thus passing over this letter of the alphabet, which would not apply to the rest. It surely is not more likely that 'the dispute will be decided' in the case of the others than of this letter. It really strikes us, that the arguments are, to say the least, as satisfactory, as upon the rest of the letters.

Mr. Moore next speaks of the letter δ, which the modern Greeks pronounce like our *th* in *then*; and he remarks, that it 'resembles a pronunciation of the letter D in Spain, which is not found in any other of the modern dialects of Latin.* And since for effects of the same kind the same causes are to be assigned, why may we not suppose that this corrupt

* We presume the author did not mean to exclude the Portuguese dialect, in which this pronunciation is quite as common, we believe, as in Spanish. The same pronunciation of *d* is also heard in some parts of Italy.

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pronunciation has been derived, in both Greece and Spain, from the same source, the Eastern barbarians who overran those two countries alone of Europe, while the remainder of it was occupied by northern tribes.' p. 16.

We are aware that writers have frequently resorted to this hypothesis, in order to account for the introduction of this sound of the δ into the Greek language. If, indeed, the argument were, that this sound came from the East with the written alphabet, which the Greeks are considered to have received from the same quarter, there would be no occasion for controversy, because the sound of the δ would then claim the same antiquity with the sounds of the other letters. But it seems to be taken for granted, by the writers we allude to, that this particular sound of δ must be a corruption, and one of comparatively recent date. Yet, as Mr. Pickering intimates, no suspicion of 'corruption' attaches to the sound of the corresponding dental θ, the modern pronunciation of which has been always received by the learned as genuine. Mr. Pickering therefore remarks, that if the sound of θ is to be defended by usage, (and we do not find in the ancient writers any description of the sound it now has,) there seems to be no strong reason why the modern pronunciation of the δ may not be maintained upon the same ground. But we shall add a remark or two upon this point. The interchange of σ and θ, which is so common in some of the ancient dialects, has been always considered by scholars as affording evidence that the modern sound of θ is the same with the ancient one; for we find in our own times, that when a foreigner attempts to pronounce our *th*, he is very apt to slide into the sound of *s*. Now we observe a similar interchange of δ and ζ in the dialects of antiquity; for example, in the *Attic*, κνίδη for κνίζη; in the *Doric*, ἔρδω for ἔρζω, θερίδδειν for θερίζειν; in the *Æolic*, δυγὸς for ζυγὸς, ζία for δία, etc. By parity of reasoning, therefore, we might without much hazard infer, from this interchange of ζ and δ, that the latter is as likely as the letter θ to have had originally the same sound which it now has. But when to this we add the remark of *Apollonius*, who calls the Z and Δ almost equipollent letters—τοῦ Ζ καὶ του Δ ἰσοδυναμοῦντος σχεδὸν*—there seems to be the highest probability that the modern Greeks have retained substantially the ancient pronunciation of the *delta*; and therefore that we ought not to class

* Apollon. p. 618, de adverbiis ed. Bekker. ap. Anecdota Græc.

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their pronunciation of it with the corruptions of the Eastern barbarians, any more than we should that of their *theta.*

The next subject of discussion in Mr. Moore's work (p. 16) is the much controverted letter η, the different pronunciation of which by the Erasmians and Reuchlinians gave to the two parties, as is well known, the names of *Etistæ* and *Iotistæ.* Mr. Moore enters upon this branch of his argument with remarking, that Mr. Pickering 'is obliged to admit that it (η) had at one period "a sound differing in some respects from that which it now has in Greece."' Mr. Moore then adds—'The fact is, that the passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which extorts this concession from the modern Greeks, sets this dispute at rest; and the only way in which they can surmount the difficulty is, to place a century or two lower the antiquity to which they lay claim for their pronunciation.' p. 17. The author then, in order 'that the ground may not be perpetually shifting thus in the course of our debate,' proceeds to define the term *antiquity,* which he observes 'is a very indefinite term, and altogether relative;' in his opinion 'we cannot with propriety extend our view lower than the age of Dionysius.' We highly disapprove of the tone of these remarks of Mr. Moore, as they have a tendency to leave the impression, that his adversary is arguing upon this point, and indeed upon the others, more in the spirit of a mere controvertist than of a sober inquirer after truth, and rather with the address of an advocate than with the impartiality of a judge. These we are sure, if we may judge from the tenor of Mr. Pickering's essay, were not his feelings. We are unable to perceive any reason why Mr. Moore should assert that 'the ground is perpetually shifting in the course of debate.' Mr. Pickering, as far as we recollect, has usually taken care to speak in guarded and qualified language, whenever the occasion required it; and his very remark, which Mr. Moore has above quoted, is as good a proof as we could have selected on this head. Mr. Pickering has sufficiently explained, more than once, what he means by the ancient pronunciation; he is of opinion that we might content ourselves with that of a period as late as even the *third* or *fourth* century; which he thinks would be sufficiently near the purest classic standard to satisfy our foreign ear. And if the written Greek down to that period, and even later, is confessedly so pure as not grossly to offend the taste of

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scholars, it must be admitted, that there is some little reason in receiving the spoken language of the same period as sufficiently classical. We do not however mean to be understood as expressing a fixed opinion upon this point; it is sufficient to justify our present observations, if Mr. Pickering's is expressed with clearness. At p. 18, Mr. Moore differs from Mr. Pickering (and we believe from all scholars) as to the ει and ι, which are generally supposed to have been sounded alike; but Mr. Moore denies this to have been the fact, and he undertakes to 'show that Eustathius (upon whom Mr. Pickering had placed the same reliance which writers have usually done) is not consistent with himself on this head.' p. 18, 25. This is, indeed, a bold charge; in the mouth of a foreigner too, and concerning a mere matter of fact in the native language of his adversary. If the venerable patriarch of Constantinople could now revisit the earth and should have the boldness to undertake to show that Mr. Moore was 'not consistent with himself' in regard to a simple fact in the English language, we have no doubt that Mr. Moore would gaze at him with all that astonishment which such an occurrence would be likely to excite. But upon what ground does Mr. Moore hazard this opinion? Upon the following remarks which Eustathius makes on the argument to the fifth book of the Iliad: εἶ, βάλλει Κυθέρειαν—ε̄ στοιχεῖον εῑ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ προστιθέντες το ῑ ἵνα τῇ διὰ διφθόγγου ἐκτάσει δύνωνται περισπᾶν καὶ ἀντὸ, καθὰ καὶ [τὰ] ἄλλα στοιχεῖα. Mr. Moore understands this remark as descriptive, in some sort, of the pronunciation of the letter ε̄; and that when the patriarch says (according to Mr. Moore's rendering) that 'the ι in the diphthong ει merely served to prolong the sound of the ε,' he goes 'contrary to reason and analogy,' and is likewise inconsistent with himself. p. 25.

But Mr. Moore has evidently misapprehended the meaning of his author in this instance. Eustathius is here speaking, not of the sound of the letter ε, but of its name in the alphabet; and if Mr. Moore has not in this instance (from the want of necessary books in this country, which he justly laments) been obliged to quote his author at second hand, but had the original work before him, we are a little surprised that the remainder of Eustathius' observations, which he has not quoted, did not attract his notice. The whole passage, as it is generally understood, runs thus: 'The letter ε the ancients

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called (or named) ει, adding the ι, in order that by giving it the extent of a diphthong, they might circumflex this as well as the other letters.' Eustathius then subjoins this remark, 'They do the same thing with the small ο (o-micron) and for the same reason they call that οὖ.'* That the ancients did thus name the ε and the ο, is matter of common learning; and we are the more surprised that Mr. Moore should have overlooked this circumstance, as it is noticed in Dawes' *Miscellanea Critica*, which Mr. Moore frequently cites. And as to the opinion of Mr. Moore, that the 'ει had the sound of long ε,' (and not of ι, as Mr. Pickering supposes,) it will suffice here to quote once more the authority of Dawes, who in his letter to Taylor makes this remark—'All that I contend for is, that the same Greeks who wrote E, never pronounced it EI, any otherwise than as A was pronounced Αλφα, that is, when its name, not its power, was considered.'

We have dwelt the longer upon this part of Mr. Moore's remarks, because we know it has been the fashion with some writers to treat the Greek grammarians and scholiasts with very little ceremony, or rather, with absolute contempt, even in questions relating to their native language. That we sometimes find among their numerous observations false philosophy, trifling etymologies, and even ridiculous puerilities, cannot be denied; we ought as foreigners, to be very sure that we are in the right, before we pronounce them to be in the wrong.

Mr. Moore next considers a remark of Mr. Pickering's upon the pronunciation of the words λητουργεῖν and λιτουργεῖν, which he selected from many others in the collection by Ammonius, as we suppose, on account of that author's here referring to another by the name of Didymus. Mr. Pickering, following the general opinion, infers that the η̄ and the ῑ in these two words were pronounced alike, and that Ammonius for that reason thought 'it necessary to point out the difference in signification' of the two words; just as our own grammarians give us lists of words in English which are alike in sound but different in their spelling and signification. Mr. Moore however, speaking *ex cathedra*, pronounces this to be 'a groundless supposition,' and that 'the argument from Ammonius has no weight whatever.' pp. 19, 20. Valckenaer, however, (whose edition of Ammonius is referred to by Mr. Moore) though he proposes an emendation which we shall

* Homeri Op. tom. i. p. 507. Ed. Rom. 1542.

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presently advert to, considers the remark of Ammonius as evidence of a similarity in the pronunciation of the two words, even when corrected as he would have one of them. He proposes, not, as Mr. Moore inadvertently states, that the latter of the two words, λιτουργεῖν, but the former one, λΗτοῦργειν, should be altered to λΕιτοῦργειν; and then he adds: 'λειτοῦργειν vulgaris est et ubivis obvia verbi forma: ejus loco Ammonii ævo pronuntiasse videntur λιτοῦργειν.' This emendation does not affect the argument derived from Ammonius' observation, and therefore it is unnecessary to remark upon it with that view; but we will just observe, by the way, that it is a mere *conjecture* of Valckenaer's, and, as was observed many years ago, it is not necessary to alter the common reading; for the word was unquestionably written sometimes with η as well as with ει.

At p. 21, Mr. Moore returns to the argument founded on the verse of Cratinus, representing the bleating of sheep; and he derives much support, as he thinks, from the circumstance stated by Mr. Pickering, under the letter β, that the two Greeks who were interrogated how they could express that sound, did it by the same vowel which Cratinus had used, 'namely, ε, which being long was equivalent to εε, and was afterwards written η by the grammarians who remodelled his verse.' Here it is necessary to keep in mind the period of Grecian history from which we take the pronunciation of the language. Mr. Pickering admits, that in the time of Cratinus, the η 'might possibly have had the full sound of our long *a* throughout all Greece;'* and as the argument in this place of Mr. Moore's work only goes to that period, it is unnecessary to make any remarks in addition to those we have already submitted to our readers. We cannot, however, dismiss this letter, without observing, that Mr. Moore, if we are not mistaken, has passed over in total silence the arguments adduced by Mr. Pickering from the oriental languages, which for reasons stated in his essay certainly have some weight.

This is the more remarkable, as Mr. Moore might have found an offset for Mr. Pickering's appeal to Schmidt, on the subject of the Greek words retained in the Syriac version. Schmidt remarks that, in that version *the Greek η is always rendered by hirik* (.) *and never by tsere* (..) *or sægol* (∴). But on

* Essay, p. 50.

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examining the fragments of Origen's Hexapla, which, notwithstanding the extravagant antiquity assigned by some critics to the Syriac version, is probably as ancient as that version, we find the precise reverse of this to be true. The vowel η occurs, if we have counted correctly, 19 times in the Hebrew column written in Greek characters of the first chapter of Genesis. Of these nineteen times it represents (..) twelve times, (-) five times, (֗) once, and (.)once. Too much dependence cannot however be placed on this argument, for the self same Hebrew phrase עַל־פְּנֵי is written three different ways in the Greek character, in this chapter, viz. αλ φνε, αλ φανη, and αλ φενε.—Moreover, instead of βρησὶθ, the reading which Montfaucon adopts for the first word in Genesis, by which η is made the representative of (..), that critic tells us that in a manuscript in the king's library βαρησὶθ is read in the margin; a reading which gives η twice for (.). All this seems to teach, that the argument from the oriental pronunciation is liable to some uncertainty.

Of the υ Mr. Moore observes, p. 23, that the only authority for its being sounded like ι is a passage or two from the Herculanean MSS. But Mr. Pickering here again does not assert that this pronunciation is exactly that of the ancients, but he thinks it highly probable that it is 'extremely near' to it.* As to Mr. Moore's remark, that we might with as much reason (as in the case of the Greek υ and ι) infer that the Romans pronounced *u* and *i* alike, because Sallust wrote for example, *optumus*, *maxumus*, &c. we think there can be little doubt, that in *unaccented* syllables, like those, these two letters were sounded much alike, as they are in the similar case in all modern languages.

It was our intention to have continued this inquiry into the manner in which Mr. Moore has replied to the principal arguments of Mr. Pickering, through the rest of the pamphlet of Mr. Moore.—The remaining portion of it appears to us to contain several statements rather incorrect, or which are to be admitted only with qualification. But having, as we apprehend, trespassed as long upon the patience of our readers, as the subject of the Greek pronunciation authorizes us, we take leave of the discussion for the present, in the design of resuming it, should the continuance of the controversy furnish us occasion.

* Essay, p. 56.

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ART. XVI.—*Cours de littérature dramatique : ou Recueil, par ordre de matières, des feuilletons de Geoffroy, précédé d' une notice historique sur his vie.* 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1819.

THIS work is a collection of theatrical articles, published successively in one of the French newspapers, from about the year 1800 to the year 1814. They were considered at the time so much superior to the ordinary ephemeral matter which appears in this form, that they gave a very great vogue to the *Journal de l'Empire*. It is said that twenty thousand copies were at that time circulated daily. The ordinary sale of the best French journals then and now does not much exceed six thousand. The author, M. Geoffroy, had been Professor of Rhetoric at the *Collège Mazarin* at Paris before the revolution. Soon after the beginning of the troubles, his political orthodoxy was called in question, and he thought it expedient to retire for a time from his station and take refuge in the country. He offered himself to some parish committee, as a candidate for the office of village schoolmaster, having previously assumed a rustic tone and dress. His qualifications being found sufficient for the place, he entered upon it, and retained it till the return of Bonaparte had restored some degree of order at Paris. Soon after this he repaired to the capital and was immediately attached to the *Journal des Debats*, as it was then called, as editor of the theatrical department, by no means the least essential one in all the French journals. This department is occupied, in general, by a notice of the new pieces, as they appear, or by a criticism on the merits of the actors. But Geoffroy gave it a wider range, and undertook a vigorous and free analysis of every thing that was acted, old or new. He examines with the same boldness and care the works of Corneille, Racine, Molière, and Voltaire, as those of the contemporary writers. Hence, these articles became, as they are entitled in this collection, *a course of lectures on the dramatic literature of France;* and what they want in solidity from the ephemeral form in which they made their appearance, is amply compensated by the vivacity and point derived from the same cause.

It is obvious that the author, in order to execute an enterprize of this kind with so much success, must have possessed very considerable literary merit; and accordingly his style places him very high among the modern French writers. It

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is manly and vigorous, and at the same time pure; although of course very unequal in different articles. There is a vein of bitterness and satire running through the whole, which is very amusing, and is perhaps essential to the success of a critic. The author's opinions in literature and philosophy took their colour, like those of other people, from the circumstances of his life and education. He received the latter in one of the Jesuits' colleges, where he was naturally taught the opinions of the old school, and the persecutions they afterwards brought upon him as naturally endeared them to him still more strongly. Every thing modern, and above all every thing that savours of the modern philosophy, is an abomination to him. The age of Louis XIV is the golden age of France in learning and politics. The best writers of the last century bear no comparison with the geniuses of that period, and those of the present day are mere pigmies, almost too contemptible to require being crushed. These ideas taken in the abstract are as old as the age of Nestor, and about as probable now as they were then; but they may be defended at different times with different degrees of plausibility, and it must be allowed, that, at least in a literary point of view, Geoffroy makes out a pretty good case on this side of the question. The colossal reputation of Voltaire was the principal objection to his theory, and he accordingly loses no opportunity of attacking him with any weapon that is most convenient. The collection is interspersed with occasional digressions on subjects of moral, political, and historical interest, anecdotes, bon mots, and biographical sketches, so that it forms altogether a very pleasant reading for a leisure hour, and we venture to hope that a few notices and extracts will contribute to the entertainment of some of our readers.

The great Corneille is of course the god of our author's idolatry. Corneille with every true born Frenchman is the *beau ideâl* of the sublime, as Racine is of the beautiful. The former of these distinguished poets was, in the first instance, according to our critic, a 'little lawyer' at Rouen. We find him in the next place attached to the service of Cardinal Richelieu, in rather a singular capacity. The Cardinal, who justly holds a high rank among the statesmen of Europe, seems to have thought that he could carry into poetry the same process that he employed in politics. As in the accomplishment of his political designs he left all the trouble of the execution to his

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agents, civil and military, while he reserved to himself all the glory of the success, he seems to have supposed that by ordering plays to be written and acted in his name, he should be justly entitled to the reputation of a dramatic poet. He accordingly appointed a committee of five poets, corresponding in number with the acts necessary to a perfect play, and when he wanted to write a tragedy he issued his orders, and each of his poets produced an act Corneille was one of this committee. Our critic reprimands the Cardinal for this singular abuse of authority with just severity.

'La *metromanie* ou plutôt la *théotromanie* du Cardinal de Richelieu est un des plus singuliers travers, qui jamais ait pu déranger la tête d' un prélat et d' un ministre. C' etait une chose indecente et bizarre de voir un Cardinal de la sainte église Romaine s' amuser à faire des comédies, tandis que l'église anathématisait les comédies et les comédiens. Rien n'etait plus ridicule qu' un grand homme d' état travesti en méchant auteur et en misérable poëte. Le grand ministre dont les vastes desseins confondaient l' orgueil de l' Autriche et fesaient trembler l'Europe paraîssait bien petit, quand il combinait péniblement l' intrigue mesquine d'une plate tragi-comédie.

'Richelieu a fait représenter sur le théâtre du monde quelques tragédies, telles que *Montmorency*, *Cinq-Mars*, et *de Thou*, *Marillac*, *Urbani-Grandier*, &c.: elles pouvaient inspirer la terreur et la pitié ; mais ses tragi-comédies n'étaient propres qu' à causer le dégoût et l'ennui. Chose étrange! le plus profond politique de son siècle ne mettait dans ses drames que des fadeurs et des niaiseries, et un petit avocat de Rouen, un homme obscur, enseveli dans son cabinet, étalait dans ses pièces les plus grands intérêts et la plus profonde politique. Corneille était sur la scène ce qu' était Richelieu dans les conseils. Il faut que chacun fasse son métier.'

The Cardinal, who was aware no doubt that a piece, in order to produce any reputation to its author, must not only contain the five necessary acts, but must be applauded by the public, after providing for the first of these conditions in the way just mentioned, instituted a commission of forty, whose business it was to praise the pieces published in his name, and condemn all others. This body was called the French Academy. It seems to have been considered a point of honour with the five poets not to produce any thing in their own names, at least nothing better than what they published under

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that of the Cardinal's. Hence, when Corneille published the famous *Cid*, the earliest good tragedy in the French language, it was regarded by the Cardinal as an act of petit-treason, and although one of the privileged poets, the author was immediately delivered over to the forty judges to be tried and punished in the ordinary way. These matters are treated by our author with due solemnity.

'Le fier prélat porta son despotisme dans la litterature, il prétendoit dominer l' opinion, asservir les gens de lettres, tyranniser le goût L' Académie ne fut d' abord qu' une espèce de commission établie pour juger ceux, qui entreprendraient d' avoir plus d' esprit et de talent que lui. Ce ne fut pas pour maintenir la pureté de la langue qu' il érigea ce tribunal ; mais pour contenir les auteurs qui tentaient de secouer le joug. Il y avait cinq versificateurs ordinaires de la chambre de Son Eminence ; c' étoit des négres que le Cardinal chargait de l' execution de ses plans : ils sont connus sous le nom des cinq auteurs. Corneille avoit le malheur d' être du nombre.

'Cet écrivain qui ne respirait que la liberté Romaine, fut sur le point d'être chassé et disgracié, pour avoir eu l'audace de changer quelque chose à l' acte qui lui avait été confié. On l' accusa de rebellion : mais bientôt il arbora ouvertement l' étendard de la revolte, en faisant paraître *le Cid*. La cour et la ville se soulevèrent en faveur de cette tragédie, le premier des chefs d'-œuvres de Corneille et de notre scene tragique. Le Cardinal irrité contre l' auteur aussi alarmé du succès, dit Fontenelle, *que s' il avait vu les Espagnols auxportes de Paris*, fit d' abord attaquer *le Cid* par ses plus intrépides officiers, et enfin ordonna à son regiment d' Académiciens de charger. Si le public n' eut fait une vigoreuse résistance, cette pièce, l'honneur de notre scène, eût succombé sous les traits des Chapelain, des Desmarest, des Boisrobert, des Conrart, des Gombault ; quels hommes ! grands dieux ! quels héros ! dont les noms, flétris par la satire, sont aujourd' hui une raillerie et une insulte. On voit que le berceau de l' Académie Française ne fut pas couronné de palmes et de trophées : elle est née dans la servitude et le mépris, au bruit des sifflets et des huées, au sein du ridicule et du mauvais goût ; son origine ne rappelle que des disgraces et des ignominies, et lorsque dans les jours de sa gloire, elle voyait réunir dans son enceinte l' élite de ce qu' il y avait de plus grand en France, elle resemblait à ces financiers enrichis, dont le père et l'aïeul avaient porté la livrée.

The judgment of the Academy upon the *Cid* is a well known piece of criticism. The heroine of this tragedy has the mis-

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fortune to be in love with a person, who has killed her father, and the interest of the piece lies in the conflict of feeling produced by these opposite relations. The lady at one moment goes to court to urge the infliction of some punishment upon her father's murderer, and at another gives him a private meeting in her own house. The immorality of this attachment is principally insisted upon by the Academy in their attack upon the play. They represent the morals of *Chimène* as scandalous and depraved, and consider it essential to a good tragedy that the leading characters should be persons of unblemished reputation, otherwise, they say, the effect of the piece is morally bad. Our critic admits that this is true, but denies the conclusion. According to him the influence of the theatre is in general unfavourable to good principles, and that in proportion to the merit of the works represented. This is his favourite doctrine through the whole four volumes, and perhaps may be looked upon as a precious confession from a man, who for the greater part of his life passed all his evenings at the play, and all his days in writing remarks upon what he had seen the night before. The question, however, is a famous point of casuistry, which has been agitated at various times with great warmth. Rousseau's letter to d'Alembert is a brilliant and vigorous defence of the unfavourable side. The early puritans in England attacked the stage with great violence; and in our own country, so late as the close of the last century, the clergy, with the more serious part of the community in Boston, united in petitions against the building of the theatre, and the players were obliged for some time to act their comedies in a barn, under the disguise of 'a moral lecture on the duty of candour, entitled the School for Scandal.' The question perhaps resolves itself into the more general one, whether the development of the intellect and the refinement of the feelings are favourable to happiness and virtue. D'Alembert in the article *Geneva* in the Encyclopedia, which gave occasion to the letter of Rousseau, considers the stage as a powerful machine for polishing society. This opinion is hardly to be disputed, and if the new German theory be correct, which makes taste, morality, and religion, only synonymous terms for the same thing, would go far in deciding the question. A great part of Rousseau's reply is fantastical, and as a substitute for theatrical entertainments he recommends public balls, which it is well known are not

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less obnoxious to the stricter casuists than plays. But we have not room to engage in the discussion of this subject.

Though the Cardinal, as we have seen, did not pamper the great Corneille with 'empty praise,' he gave him what he wanted much more, a pension of 500 crowns a year, equal, says our critic, to 1500 at the present day; and as the sublime poet was too prudent to quarrel with his bread and butter, he revenged himself upon the Cardinal for his persecution of the *Cid*, by dedicating to him his next tragedy, the *Horaces*. Corneille, with all his genius and all his sublimity, had no faculty in turning a compliment. He could not 'dandle the kid' any better than Milton. His praises are so extravagant and so injudicious, that they might be almost mistaken for irony, did not the known simplicity of the author oppose any such idea.

'Certes, monseigneur,' says he, 'le changement visible qu' on remarque dans mes ouvrages, depuis que j' ai l' honneur' être à Votre Eminence, qu' est-ce autre chose qu' un effet des grandes idées, qu' Elle m' inspire, quand Elle daigne souffrir que je lui rende mes devoirs? et à quoi peut on attribuer ce qui s'y mêle de mauvais, qu' aux teintures grossières que je reprends quand je domeure abandonné à ma propre force?'

The rest is of the same power. The author of the Cid, after his patron's death, expressed himself with a little more sincerity, though still with due respect. The epitaph which he wrote for the Cardinal begins, and might perhaps as well have ended, with the following lines:

'Qu' on parle, comme on veut, du fameux Cardinal,
Ni ma prose ni mes vers n' en diront jamais rien;
Il m' a fait trop de bien pour en dire du mal,
Il m' a fait trop de mal pour en dire du bien.'

The tragedies of Corneille are mostly founded on historical events, supposed or real, but with a view of increasing the interest he generally introduces a love intrigue, more or less directly connected with the principal one. It has long been regarded as a knotty question, how far this system is deserving of approbation. Voltaire inclines to the opinion that where love is introduced at all, the interest created by it should form exclusively the intrigue of the play; and he seems very much disposed to think that this is the only correct system.

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Political tragedies, he insinuates very clearly, are difficult of execution, and when finished, not worth the trouble. Our worthy Professor is of a contrary opinion. The 'trials of the heart' are in his view of a secondary consequence, compared with the fates of empires and heroes.

'Aujourd 'hui,' says he, 'nous avons tant vu de passions, de folies, et de crimes plus horibles que tous ceux de la scène, la fortune nous a tellement effrayés par l'appareil de ses jeux les plus terribles, notre situation nous expose a tant d'alarmes réelles, que *nous avons de la peine à concevoir que ce soit un grand malheur de n'être pas aimé de sa maîtresse.* Comme c' est là une des plus cruelles infortunes du thèâtre, il ne faut pas être surpris que les intrigues amoureuses nons touchent médiocrement.

'Il *n'en faut pas douter*, l' étonnante et merveilleuse tragédie qui se joue depuis seize ans sur le grand théâtre de l'Europe, et dont le denouement doit exciter l' admiration de l' univers ; cette époque extraordinaire qui renouvelle la scène du monde, et recommence une sèrie de siècles jadis annoncée par Virgile, cette foule d' evenemens miraculeux ; cette succession de prodiges donne aux esprits une direction qui les éloigne des vieux hochets en possession de les amuser. Ce qui nous paraît le plus indigne de la tragédie ce sont les amourettes communes que la déclamation s' efforce de rendre tragiques. Nicomède attache beaucoup plus que Zaïre. Quelle revolution ! Et que nous importe en effet qu'un petit soudan fasse le fou dans son sérail auprès d'une petite esclave fort jolie ? Que nous fait ce Roman de la rédemption des captifs et le galimatias de cette Zaïre, fort embarrassée de son père, de son frère, de sa réligion qu'elle ne connaît pas, et de son amour qu'elle connaît beaucoup mieux ? Que les amans qui ont juré de ne pas s'entendre pour ne pas finir trop tôt la pièce pèrissent victimes de l'equivoque d'un billet ; cela est triste sans doute ; mais cela n 'est point tragique, ce ne'est qu' une aventure bourgeoise, qui peut faire pleurer de petites filles, mais peu touchante pour des hommes sensés. Aujourd 'hui (1804.) les trones renversés ou chancelans, le destin des états, le sort des nations, cette lutte terrible des vieux prejugés et des anciennes passions contre des idées nouvelles plus favorables á l'humanité, ces jeux de la fortune, ces *ligues funestes*, voilá les grandes objets dont les esprits sont occupé, &c.

Without engaging in the controversy on this subject, we may be permitted to remark that love, if it forms the subject of a tragedy, should be treated naturally and sensibly, like any other. The great fault with the heroes of Corneille, and in some degree, though not so much, with those of Racine and

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Voltaire, is that they always express their passion and make love to their mistresses in conventional phrases and metaphors, which were always extravagant and have long been ridiculous. They talk of the *beaux yeux*, the *divins appas* of their beloved. The represent themselves as loaded with chains and pierced through with arrows. Julius Cesar tells Cleopatra, that it was the influence of her fine eyes that enabled him to gain the battle of Pharsalia and the empire of the world.

> Vos beaux yeux enfin m'ayant fait soupirer,
> Pour faire que votre âme avec gloire y réponde
> M'ont rendu le prémier et de Rome, et du monde.

The honest Professor with all his admiration for Corneille is somewhat scandalized at this *tirade*. *In good earnest*, says he, *did Cesar think and talk in this way? Is not it rather the style of Don Quixote addressing his dulcinea?* At other times however he makes a lame apology for this jargon, by putting it to the account of the fashion of the times. Corneille, says he, gave his heroes that noble gallantry which was in vogue at the time of the Fronde. Love was then mingled with all the political intrigues, and produced important events. The princes and nobles of the court had each his mistress. The Duke de Beaufort was the lover of Madame de Montbazon; La Rochfoucault was at the feet of Madame de Longueville; Mademoiselle de Chevreuse ruled the Coadjutor (de Retz); the Duke de Bellegarde, when he went to the army, begged the favour of the Queen to touch the hilt of his sword; M. de Châtillon wore on his arm in battle one of Mademoiselle de Guerchi's garters. Conversation was filled with the most extravagant language of gallantry. It was the spirit of the age. The women then gave the tone at the theatre and in the world; and the language that we now think flat and silly charmed all the *précieuses* of the time. Sovereigns are never disgusted with the grossest flattery; and these ladies, who were fully persuaded, because they were constantly assured of it, that they exercised a sovereign not to say divine power over their adorers, could see nothing ridiculous in all the jargon of sighs, languishments, flames, and torments, which we now laugh at, even at the opera. They thought it perfectly natural that their eyes should be stars, suns, and gods; that their complexion should put to shame the rose and lily, and that a single glance should decide the fate of their slaves, &c.

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Au reste, the phrase *beaux yeux* is so much used in France that a certain Polish Countess, who had learned what little French she knew by rote, and was confined at home soon after her arrival at Paris by an attack of ophthalmia, replied with a perfect readiness to an inquiry after her health, *J'ai mal à mes beaux yeux*, supposing in the symplicity of her heart that *fine eyes* was the appropriate name of the feature in question. The narrator adds in the gallant French style, that as she was young and handsome, the mistake was of no great consequence.

The couplet in which the Duke de La Rochefoucault, (so celebrated for his maxims and his misanthropy, which does not seem, like that of Hamlet, to have included the fair sex) commemorates his passion for the fine eyes of Madame de Longueville, has been often cited;

> Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
> J'ai fait la guerre aux rois—je l'aurois faite aux dieux.

Corneille had passed the meridian of his powers, and was fast declining from his brightness, when a planet of milder but purer lustre appeared above the theatrical horizon. Racine was formed in the school of his great predecessor, and surpassed him in every thing but the rude vigor of creative genius. The resemblance is the same with that of Pope to Dryden. After two feeble efforts made at too early an age, Racine at the third trial produced his *Andromaque*, and from that time forward his pieces are all perfect in their way, and though some of them are superior to others, are all reckoned by the French critics as plays of the first order. The public was however very capricious with regard to them, at the time of their first appearance; and the three that are now reckoned the best were then treated very coldly. The friends of Corneille seem to have been jealous of the rising fame of Racine, and to have formed a party against him. Madame de Sevigné, one of the great wits of the day, could not persuade herself for a long time that a tragedy could be good which was not written by the author of the *Cid*. 'Beware,' she writes to her daughter, '*of imagining that any body can equal Corneille.*' She prophecied that the taste for Racine would pass like the taste for coffee; and her prophecy has been fulfilled, though not in the sense she intended.

Andromaque, though it met with a good deal of opposition,

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was still very well received. It had nearly as great a success, says our critic, as the *Cid;* but the elevated hopes of the author met with a terrible reverse at the next attempt. Britannicus *tomba*, says the astonished Professor, at the commencement of his remarks on this piece; plaignez vous á present petits auteurs, de la chûte de vos faibles essais dramatiques: It does not even seem to have attracted an audience. A particular account has been preserved of the first representation of this play, written by Boursault, one of those who did not like it. He says that he found himself very much at his ease in the middle of the pit, and that Corneille was alone in one of the boxes. He makes himself very merry with the feeling displayed by Boileau. 'His face,' says he, 'exhibited all the emotions of the piece, one after the other, and changed colour like a camelion, as the actors proceeded; young Brittanicus especially appeared to interest him so much, that he first smiled at the happiness that seemed to be in store for him, and then wept at the recital of his death; a very obliging thing this to keep a fund of tears and smiles always ready at Mr. Racine's service.' This intended ridicule of Boileau is now a charming testimony to his good taste and good heart. 'The noble and generous Boileau,' says Geoffroy, 'as good in friendship as he was great in poetry, distinguished himself on this occasion by his taste and zeal.' *Berenice* and *Bajazet* followed with good success: Corneille, who was present at one of the representations of the latter, observed to his neighbour in the box, 'These Turks are pretty well Frenchified; I say it to you in confidence, for if it was known that I thought so, I should be called jealous.' Madame de Sevigné did not like the *dénouement*. She calls it a *grande tuerie*, a great *killery* or *butchery*, but the worthy Professor stands firm and takes them both severely to task.

The next in order are *Mithridate*, *Ephigenie*, and *Phèdre*. The second of these is one of the most popular and perhaps the best adapted to representation of all. The third is now regarded as the best of Racine's tragedies on profane subjects, but failed at the first appearance. Racine was naturally sensitive: he said of himself that he had felt more pain from a single criticism, than pleasure from all the applause he had ever received. The disgust he felt at this new instance of public caprice seems to have produced on his mind what is now sometimes called a religious *awakening*. He left off

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writing for the stage, and retired at the age of thirty eight to a sort of monastery at Port-Royal. After this he published nothing but his two religious pieces, *Esther* and *Athalie*.

The fall of *Phèdre* awakens the Professor to more than usual warmth. He attacks the *culprits* who contributed to it, with an indignation proportioned to their offence, and a florid eloquence of manner suitable to his own calling.

'Cet ouvrage est à la fois la gloire et la honte de la nation. Sans doute on ne cessera de bénir le siècle fortuné, qui vit éclore ce prodige de l'art et du génie : mais en même tems on déplorera toujours l'aveuglement et l'injustice, qui dans ce même siècle, voulurent étouffer ce chef-d'oeuvre au berceau, et forcèrent un poëte tel que Racine à quitter à l'age de trente huit ans, la carrière dramatique. Ce ne fut pas le petit peuple des rimeurs jaloux, qui se déchaîna contre l'auteur de *Phèdre*, ce fut la bonne compagnie ; le gallant Racine eut alors pour ennemis, non des folliculaires, mais des femmes aimables, des courtisans polis. Devisé et Subligni, critiques de profession temoignèrent quelques égards pour le plus parfait des tragiques français : mais madame Deshoulières, mais madame la Duchesse de Bouillon, mais le Duc de Nevers, aïeul de ce duc de Nivernois, qui depuis a rèparé sur cet article l'honneur de la famille, mais une foule de gens distingués des deux sexes, formèrent une véritable conjuration pour humilier le talent et faire triompher la sottise. La Duchesse de Bouillon, et le Duc de Nevers sont peut-être moins *coupables*, parcequ'ils étoient étrangers d'origine ; mais *comment concevoir* que des Français conspirent contre l'honneur de leur patrie ? comment expliquer *l'animosité des femmes contre un bel homme*, estimé à la cour, et leur prédilection pour un obscur faquin tel que Pradon, *dont la figure étoit aussi ridicule que les écrits ?*

'*Tout* est énigme, tout est problème, dans cette lutte scandaleuse d'un nain contre un géant : la tragédie de de Racine est jouée trois jours avant celle de Pradon : le seule souffle des applaudissements que méritait une pareille pièce ne devait-il pas renverser cet indigne adversaire ? Comment l'admiration publique n'a t elle pas defendu qu'on réprésentât la *Phèdre* de Pradon ? Dans le grand siècle du goût, est-ce qu'on ne savais pas discerner l'excellent de ce qu'il y a de pire ? La célèbre madame de Deshoulières assiste à la première représentation du chef-d'oeuvre de Racine, *et son âme n'éprouve point de remords ?* elle revient souper avec les conjurés : elle fait sa cour à Pradon en raillant les traits les plus sublimes de Racine. Cette douce et interessante bergère, qui parlait si tendrement aux moutons, aux fleurs, aux ruisseaux, c'est la furie Alecto qui distille le venin de la

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satire dans un méchant sonnet, que celui qui en est l'objet a fait vivre. A quel point les petites passions ne peuvent elles pas dègrader la raison humaine? Quand il fallait se réunir pour féliciter la littérature Française d'une si précieuse acquisition, des hommes d'esprit et de sens se battent avec des sonnets, et le duc de Nevers finit le sien par des menaces de coup de bâton, figure poétique d'un goût tout á fait délicat. Avec quel plaisir ne voit on pas le grand Condé terminer ce honteux combat, et foudroyer tous ces lâches de son autorité! Quel beau spectacle que celui d'un grand homme terrassant la cabale et protégeant le genie!

We may remark *en passant*, that the title of one of the ladies mentioned in the above passage has given occasion to Madame de Staël for a very pretty *calembourg*, which is recorded in the biographical notice of her by her cousin, Madame de Necker-Saussure. Madame de Staël had in conversation spoken with some degree of favour of the arrangements in the new kingdom of Hayti. 'What then,' said some one present, 'you take great interest in the Comte de Limonade and the Marquis de Marmalade;' 'Why not,' replied Madame de Staël, 'as much as in the Duc de Bouillon?' [Duke of Broth.]

Racine effected a compromise between his conscience and his taste for poetry, when he was called upon to furnish a drama on a scripture subject, to be represented by the young ladies of the institution of St. Cyr: and if any thing could have consoled him for the fate of *Phèdre*, the success of *Esther* would probably have been sufficient. It was the fairest triumph, says the enthusiastic Geoffroy, that ever flattered the sensibility and noble pride of a man of genius. Such a piece was not destined for a public stage and mercenary players. His theatre was a religious institution, where noble young ladies of reduced fortunes were brought up under the shadow of the altar; and these were his actors and actresses. His audience consisted of the royal family and a select party of the court. The king himself condescended to act as master of ceremonies, and stood at the door with a list of the persons invited in his hand, and conducted the ladies to the seats; between the acts he went round to collect the opinions and to give his own. Madame de Sevigné was present at one of the representations, and the king did her the honour to come and ask her how she liked the play. Party spirit itself could not resist this seduction; and the patroness and partisan of Cor-

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neille, in the intoxication of pleasure and glory, was compelled to admit that Racine had merit; but still with a qualification—'Racine a bien de l'esprit Sire,' she replied, 'mais en vérité, ces jeunes personnes en ont beaucoup aussi.' Such was the fortune of Esther, and its brilliancy encourged Racine to attempt another play on a scripture subject. 'Le grand succès d'Esther, says Madame de Caylus (for the Ladies at this time seem to have the literature in their own hands) a mis Racine en goût.' Madame de Sevigné, however, despaired of his producing any thing equal to Esther. While he was employed upon *Athalie* she writes to her daughter, that he will find it hard to equal Esther, that there were no more such subjects, that it was a lucky chance, that Ruth and Judith are nothing to it; but she adds, *Racine a bien de l'esprit, il faut espérer.* This *amiable Jansenist*, as our critic calls her, (we hope our fair readers know what a Jansenist is, for we have not time to explain it,) was, we fear, still a *Cornelian* at heart.

But the smiles of fortune were in this instance, as usual, deceitful and treacherous, and Racine was fated to drink still deeper the cup of bitterness—*Athalie*, which is styled by Voltaire *the boast of France, the master piece of the theatre, the master piece of poetry*, *Athalie* was destined to a still more ignominious fate than *Phèdre*. Religious scruples prevented it from being acted in public. The author had it printed, and it was left on the bookseller's hands, while the literary world pronounced it a poor piece, a cold, tiresome piece, in which there was much ado about nothing, or what was the same, about a priest and a baby. The indignant Professor having exhausted all the terms of reproach that language afforded him, in revenging the outrage upon *Phèdre*, has nothing left for *Athalie*, but a sullen dogged resignation to the decrees of Providence. Who would not think, says he, that in 1691, in the age of taste, in a city so long nourished with the choicest productions, the master piece of a poet so justly famous as Racine, when it appeared in print, and when the reading world had a full opportunity to feel all the beauties of the style, who would not think that it must have exhausted, so to speak, the public admiration? *Eh bien!* singular, extraordinary, altogether incredible as it may appear, there is no room for a doubt that the fact was directly otherwise. Yes, while at the present day we run after any thing new from a good

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writer with a sort of fury, Racine's Athalie was left on the bookseller's hands. There is a fatality then, a star for books as well as men. *Et habent sua fata libelli.* The literary world is in torment to explain this phenomenon, and their explanations are as unsatisfactory as those which our *savans* daily give us of the secrets of nature. The fate of Athalie is a literary mystery: we must believe without attempting to understand it.

At another time, however, he attributes the fall of Athalie to a combination of the minor wits of the day, headed by Fontenelle, who was the nephew of Corneille, and of course a partisan of his sublime uncle. He is accused, it seems, with great probability, of having produced the following epigram upon *Athalie*, which it must be confessed does him no great honour, either as a man of taste or a poet; and which we may venture to hope was not written by the gallant author of the *Plurality of worlds* and the *Dialogues of the dead.*

Gentilhomme extraordinaire
Et *suppôt de Lucifer*
Pour avoir fait pis qu' *Esther*
Comment diable as-tu pu faire?

All this was too much for the morbid feelings of the sensitive poet. To increase his troubles still more he lost the favour of the king. Somebody who had grievances to complain of persuaded Racine to write him a memorial, and upon presenting it to Louis XIV thought to strengthen his cause by telling him that the petition was drawn up by his favourite poet. The effect however was quite contrary. 'What,' said the king, 'does Racine think because he can make good poetry that he is able to teach me politics? Let me hear no more of it.' The unlucky bard was unable to support this complication of disasters, and died soon after of a broken heart. The remark of Geoffroy upon this event is truly philosophical. 'Perhaps,' says he, 'Racine was wrong to meddle with politics. Every man to his own trade; but his greatest error was in dying of chagrin.'

Such was the fate of one, whom so great a nation as France regards as the first of poets. *I nunc et tecum versus meditare canoros.*

Molière shared in some degree the fate of Racine. His best pieces, the *Misanthrope* and the *Tartuffe*, were not much

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relished at the time they were written. They were too good for the audience. These two great geniuses were, like other great geniuses, in advance of their age, and their value was consequently not fully perceived till after their death. The next generation, whose taste was formed and polished by their productions, were able to do them justice, but this was too late for the authors. Notwithstanding this, Molière was extremely popular in his life time, the greater part of his pieces being of a light kind, bordering very nearly upon farce. It is well known that a great part of the merriment of these productions consists in a ridicule of the physicians. This circumstance arose from the state of public opinion in that day. Ridicule in order to be *piquant* must be directed against an object at once serious and important. Politics and religion were at that time too sacred to be touched, and medicine was the most convenient substitute. Since the poets have been permitted to laugh at priests and statesmen, they have left the physicians alone. It was however a great folly in a man so wise as Molière, to become in good earnest the dupe of his own wit, and to believe, that because he could make people in health laugh at the physicians, he should not want their assistance himself when ill. It is supposed that his death was much hastened by his neglect to take medical advice. It is also a singular coincidence, that the last attack of his illness, which was a consumption, was brought on by his exertions in acting the *Malade Imaginaire*.

Our critic does not attribute his decline solely to this circumstance, and is half disposed to think that he was worried to death by his wife. Mademoiselle Molière (for the actresses, though married, were not at that time honoured with the title of Madame) Mademoiselle Molière was a young and handsome coquette, and cared but little for her husband, who, besides being out of health, had too much sense and too little gaiety to be very good company. Molière, like other great wits, was naturally *triste*. He was however dotingly fond of her, and though she was a perpetual torment to him, she contributed mainly to the perfection of his plays, by enabling him to paint to the life from his own sensations, the anxiety of a jealous husband.

In the *Femmes Savantes*, the learned ladies, Molière has attacked the folly which at that time possessed a part of the sex, of giving themselves out for wits and philosophers, with-

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out the least pretension to either character. The subject is well treated, and is certainly a very legitimate one for ridicule. False pretensions of any kind are fair game. Our critic, in his remarks upon the play, carries the idea little farther, or rather introduces an entirely new one, and undertakes to show that the modern doctrines on female education are incorrect, that it is quite foolish for ladies to be running to lectures upon natural and moral philosophy, and that they would do much better to be staying at home and taking care of their children. The delicacy of this subject will prevent us from treating it in detail, although it is not to be disguised that scripture authority leans the same way. The model of wives held up to imitation is not one who is well versed in botany and metaphysics, but one that looketh well to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness. We shall take the liberty of laying before our readers a part of Mr. Geoffroy's remarks upon this point.

'Comment peut-on jouer les *Femmes Savantes* dans une ville couverte de musées, d'athénées, de coteries, et de clubs savans de toute couleur, où les Muses ne se rendent que pour être applaudies pas les Graces? Comment peut-on jouer les *Femmes Savantes* dans la métropole des sciences, dans la capitale des mathématiques, dans le bureau centrale de la philosophie et des arts, dans une cité peupleé de grammairiens, de métaphysiciens, de physiciens, de chimistes, de botanistes, qui n'ont pas de disciples plus assidus et de meilleures pratiques que les femmes? Que deviendraient tant de démonstrateurs, d'instituteurs, de docteurs, de professeurs, d'orateurs, qui tous ont leurs dévotes? Ne seraient-ils pas obligés de fermer leur cours, si les jolies femmes cessaient de courir après la science? Quelle plaie pour le commerce savant! quel coup mortel pour la circulation des principes, et des phrases, des sophismes et des jeux de mots, si la jeune épouse, timide et solitaire, au lieu de se jeter dans la foule des hommes pour y briguer le palme de l'esprit et de la beauté, bornait sa coquetterie à plaire à son mari, sa gloire à l'education de ses enfans, et sa vanité aux détails du ménage. Eh! qui voudrait désormais faire des vers si l'espoir de les lire à des femmes, ne tenaiat lieu au poëte de génié et d' Apóllon? Prêcher la simplicité, et la modestie aux femmes dans Paris, c'est comme si l'on prêchait la philosophie à Constantinople, la liberté à Maroc, et le christianisme au Japon,' &c.

It has been observed that we all bear the misfortunes of

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our neighbours with philosophy, and join with complacency in the laugh at their follies, but are not quite so well satisfied when the case is brought home to ourselves. Our critic goes along with Molière very good humouredly in ridiculing the physicians, the bigots, the unfortunate husbands, and the learned ladies, but when the poet begins to laugh at Greek, his favourite study, he stops short. *J'aime beaucoup Molière*, says he, *et j'aime beaucoup le Grec. Je ne pardonne pas à Molière d'avoir voulu rendre le Grec ridicule.* The passage alluded to is in the *Learned Ladies*. Trissotin, the principal pedant of the play, introduces one of his friends to the ladies, and recommends him as being well versed in the old writers: and especially in Greek, upon which the ladies express their satisfaction, by offering to embrace him.

'Il a des vieux auteurs la pleine intelligence
Et sait du Grec, madame, autant qu' homme de France.
Philaminte.
Du Grec ! o ciel, du Grec ! Il sait du Grec, ma soeur !
Belise.
Ah, ma nièce, du Grec !
Amande.
Du Grec ! quelle douceur !
Philaminte.
Quoi, monsieur sait du Grec ! ah, permettez, de Grâce,
Que pour l'amour du Grec, monsieur, l'on vous embrasse.'

The old Professor seems however to dwell with some satisfaction on what he calls the privilege of being embraced by the ladies for the love of Greek, which, he says, is the more comical, as the Greek scholars of the time of Molière paid but little attention to their personal appearance. He then takes occasion to tell rather a strange story, how Margaret of Scotland, wife of Louis XI, then dauphin of France, was passing through a hall in the palace, and happened to see one Alain Chartier, a great savant, lying fast asleep on the floor, having, as our critic observes, probably been studying hard all night. Although he was old, ugly, and tiresome, to a proverb, the dauphiness went up and embraced him without ceremony. The ladies were greatly scandalized and the courtiers quite furious, at seeing such a mark of preference given to an ugly, old pedant, but the dauphiness justified herself very nobly; observing that she wished to salute the

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lips that had given utterance to so many fine thoughts. Our Professor is so far from disapproving this proceeding, that he calls it an act of heroism. 'Ce n'était pas pour l'amour du Grec, qu'elle lui avoit donné le baiser, mais pour l'amour de la sagesse et de la vertu; ce qui est heroique dans une jeune princesse.' This is something like a story they tell of Milton, who was lying asleep by the way side somewhere, when an Italian lady, that was passing in her carriage, stopped to look at him, and was so pleased with what she saw of his person, that she wrote an impromptu on his fine eyes, which she did not see. For the rest we suppose the Professors and other *savans* of the present time may go to sleep very quietly, without apprehending any similar interruption.

Critics it is sometimes thought are naturally more fond of censure than of praise, and our author makes up for the liberal encomiums he bestows upon the three writers we have been considering, by abusing as liberally almost every body else, and more especially Voltaire, who is made to bear the blame of every thing that has gone wrong for the last thirty or forty years. Voltaire is the only dramatic writer since the age of Louis XIV, whose productions have fairly taken rank with those of the great poets of that time, and acquired an established and classical reputation. Now and then a single play has been acted with success, or a writer has obtained for a time a certain degree of vogue, as Ducis, Laharpe, Chénier, and some others, but no name except Voltaire can be cited, which makes pretensions to stand on a line with Corneille and Racine. His comedies have not much merit. They are regarded as the least valuable of his writings, and this is the more remarkable, as gaiety and wit seem to be among the most prominent traits of his character. The merit of his tragedies is admitted by our critic, though in rather an ungracious way.

Je n' ai jamais dit que les pièces de Voltaire restées au théâtre fussent de *mauvaises tragédies:* c'est une absurdité qu'on m'a prêtée gratuitement; et s'il faut ici fermer la bouche aux imposteurs par une profession de foi bien nette, je declare que je mets au rang des meilleurs ouvrages composés depuis Racine, *Mérope*, *Zaïre*, *Mahomet*, *Alzire*, qui me paraîssont les quatre chefs d'œuvres de Voltaire. Il y a dans ces pièces des caractères

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brillans, des situations pathétiques, des tirades très eloquentes, des sentences admirables, et de très beaux vers. D'autres tragédies telles qu'*Oedipe*, *Mariamne*, *Brutus*, sans avoir autant d'éclat au theâtre se distinguent par un stile pur et correct, par une marche régulière, une élégance souvent digne de Racine, et une grandeur qui s'approche quelquefois de celle de Corneille. D'autres pièces telles que *Semiramis*, *l'Orphelin de la Chine*, *Tancrede*, *Rome sauvée*, *Oreste*, quoique inferieures, sans doute, offrent un grand nombre de morceaux et de scènes, qui décèlent un talent très heureux et très distingué. Telle a toujours été mon opinion sur le théâtre de Voltaire. Si dans l'examen que j'ai fait de plusieurs de ces pièces je n'ai presque rien dit des beautés, c'est qu'elles étaient admirées, et *prônées* au delà même de leur mérite.'

This is about the only passage in which the critic condescends to bestow any thing like praise upon the patriarch of the philosophical church, with the exception perhaps of the following, which we rather think gives a pretty correct, though not very flattering likeness of this celebrated person.

'En vérité les lettres de Voltaire valent beaucoup mieux que ses comédies et même que ses tragédies. Voltaire en dishabillé me plait davantage que Voltaire en habit de Théâtre C'est dans ses lettres qu'il est éminemment lui. Son esprit, ennemi de toute espèce d'entraves, s'y developpe à son aise. C'est là qu'il est vif, léger, brillant, bouffon, folâtre ; c'est un prophète qui prends toutes les formes ; c'est une coquette qui change à chaque instant de visage. Il se replie en cent façons pour flatter et pour plaire. Le serpent qui seduisit Eve, n'était ni plus joli, ni plus malin. Ses saillies, ses boutades, ses caprices, ses contradictions forment des scènes toujours naturelles, toujours variées, toujours amusantes. Il n'y a que sa colère, sa grossièreté, son fanatisme qui ne soient point aimables. Quand il ecrit aux gens de *sa clique*, à ses garçons philosophes, il a le ton d'un soldat réformé, qui conspire dans une taverne. C'est un homme très poli avec les gens du monde, mais qui ne se gare pars avec ses valets.

'Voltaire n'étoit pas né pour le genre sérieux. Il paraîssait guindé, déclamateur charlatan dans le tragique, parcequ'il se moquait lui-même le prémier de son pathos. Il ne cherchait qu'à éblouir, qu'à tromper le vulgaire par des farces larmoyantes. On sait qu'il y faisait un métier. Il y a réussi, parcequ'avec de l'esprit, on fait tout passablement bien ; parcequ'il n'avait pour concurrens dans cette carrière que des pauvres diables qui n'étaient pas aussi rusés que lui. Mais dans tous les ouvrages

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enjoués et badins, dans les pièces fugitives, dans les petis pamphlets, dans les petits Romans, dans les facéties, et les turlupinades, dans les lettres surtout, c'est un homme divin ; c'est Voltaire qu'on trouve dans son talent naturel et vrai ; c'est alors qu'il est original, qu'il a une physionomie, un caractère, et qu'il parle du cœur. Dans tout le reste, son allure est génée et fausse. C'est un hypocrite, qui se compose parcequ'on le regarde.

' Je lui devais ce petit éloge pour le plaisir et même pour l'utilité que ses lettres m'ont procuré. J'y découvre le secrèt de sa composition ; J'y vois comme il travaillait ses tragédies, ce qu'il en pensait lui-même. Malgré sa vanite, il a des momens de justice, ou il s'apprécie ce qu'il vaut. Ses lettres sont pour moi les coulisses et le derrière du Théâtre. Elles me mettent au fait de toutes les petites intrigues, ignorées à la foule, à qui on ne lasse apercevoir que la scène et encore d'assez loin.

' Désque Voltaire avait choisi un sujet de tragédie, incapable de le mûrir, il jeta rapidement sur le papier les scènes, telles qu'elles se presentaient à son imagination échauffée : la besogne était expédiée, et la tragedie faite ordinairement en trois semaines ou un mois. Il envoyait ensuite ce croquis à ses *anges*, c'est à dire, au Comte d'Argental, et surtout à la Comtesse qu'il appelait Madame Scaliger, à cause des grands commentaries qu'elle faisait sur les impromptus et les *prestos* tragiques qu'il offrait à sa censure : Si les remarques lui semblaient justes il corrigeait, retouchait, réformait : communément assez docile pour mettre, comme il dit lui même, *une sottise à la place d'une autre ;* quelquefois il s'obstinait, il avait la sagesse de ne pas vouloir mieux faire qu'il ne pouvait.

' Souvent de lui-même, il remaniait son esquisse ; il changeait des actes entières ; il faisait de nouvelles tirades ; ce travail était bien plus long que celui de la première composition ; enfin lorsqu'il avait satisfait son conseil privé et lui-même, il s'occupait de la représentation, et c'était là une source de combinaisons profondes : les affaires d'un grand Empire ne se traitent pas avec plus de gravité dans le cabinet d'un souverain que toutes les minuties relatives au *tripot* (c'est ainsi que Voltaire appelle la comédie Française) ne s'agitèrent dans le conseil de Madame Scaliger ; tout était prévu, arrangé, calculé ; mais la pauvre tragédie, avant même d'être jouée, avait été tant de fois *rapetassée* et *ravaudée*, qu'elle n'etait plus qu'un amas de pièces et de morceaux.

' Ainsi se fabriquaient, ainsi se disposaient ces pretendus prodiges de poésie et de philosophie, destinés à subjuguer la prémière nation de l'univers ; ces chefs-d'œuvre, qu'une admiration

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aveuglée a long tems consacrés. Je révèle ici aux profanes d'étonnans mystères ; ce sont les grands effets par les petites causes ; mais il faut rendre à Voltaire la justice qu'il mérite ; il riait dans son âme de ses tours de gibecière ; il connaîssait les hommes, il les méprisait ; il savait ce qu'il faut au peuple, et rarement en voulant tromper les autres, il se trompait lui-méme.'

We have extracted this account of the process employed by Voltaire in the composition of his tragedies, rather for the curiosity of the facts, than because we agree with Geoffroy in the unfavourable opinion he entertains of it. We are inclined to think that it is the same in substance with the method employed by other good writers. Alfieri has given in his memoirs a very similar description of his own method, with the exception that his rough sketch was made in prose.

Zaïre is the most generally popular of Voltaire's tragedies, and the one that has found most favour in the eyes of our austere critic. He even goes the length of saying, that the three last acts may be called a master-piece. The hint is taken from the Othello of Shakspeare, and the catastrophe is the same. Orosmane is the Moor of Venice with the title and dress of a Sultan of Jerusalem, and the gallantry of a courtier of the age of Louis XIV. Instead of the Egyptian handkerchief, Voltaire has substituted an intercepted letter from a brother whom Zaïre unexpectedly discovers in a christian slave, the very day of her intended marriage with the Sultan, and Geoffroy finds great fault with the Sultan for not showing this letter to Zaïre and demanding an explanation, instead of regarding it as conclusive evidence against her, and proceeding accordingly. But how often do the heroes of poetry and romance conduct themselves upon principles entirely opposed to the ordinary maxims of common prudence! How many of these agreeable productions would be brought to a close before the end of the first volume or the first act, if, as our author correctly observes himself in a passage quoted above, the lovers had not taken an oath not to come to an explanation, lest the piece should finish too soon.

Mahomet is another of the most popular tragedies of the philosophical patriarch. It was thought dangerous upon its first appearance and was withdrawn after three representations, and a considerable outcry was raised against it by a part of the public. There is nothing in it that could be directly offensive, but it was regarded as a disguised attack up-

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on all positive religions, and there are many passages which, though applied in the play to Mahometism, are couched in general terms and were supposed to be intended for Christianity. To silence all doubt upon this head, Voltaire determined that his piece should come before the public in print, with the approbation of the head of the church. For this purpose he addressed a polite letter to Pope Benedict XIV, requesting permission to dedicate the tragedy to him, and to make the request more palatable he accompanied it by a Latin distich, which he wrote for the Pope's portrait, who was himself an author of no great note, and whose name was Lambertini.

> Lambertinus hic est Romæ decus et pater orbis ;
> Qui mundum scriptis docuit, virtutibus ornat.

The letter of dedication is certainly a curiosity. It was written in Italian, and the following is given by Geoffroy as a literal translation.

'Tres bien heureux Père.

'Votre saintéte me pardonnera la liberté que prend un des moindres fidèles, mais un des plus grands admirateurs de la vertu, de soumettre au chef de la vraie réligion cet ouvrage contre le fondateur d'une secte fausse et barbare.

'A qui pourrais je dedier plus convenablement la satire de la cruauté et des erreurs d'un faux prophète qu'au vicaire et à l'imitateur d'un dieu de vérité et de douceur ?

'Que votre saintété m'accorde donc la permission de mettre â ses pieds le livre et l'auteur, et de demander humblement sa protection pour l'un et sa benediction pour l'autre. Je m'incline très profondement devant elle, et je baise ses pieds sacrés.'

Voltaire at the Pope's feet is a pleasant caricature. The old Pontiff however took the request in very good part, was flattered by the attention of so distinguished a writer, and by the compliment of his distich, and accepted the dedication in a very polite answer, to which Voltaire replied with more flattery. The whole correspondence is printed in his works as an introduction to *Mahomet*. For this and other reasons the play, when it was brought out again some years after, was received with great applause: and still maintains its place among the most popular tragedies.

La mort de César is borrowed in part from Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, but is not a favourite piece. Our stoical professor, notwithstanding the austerity of his principles, makes

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no scruple to avail himself of every good opportunity to offer incense to Napoleon, the reigning idol of the day. The reader will have observed some instances of this in the passages we have extracted, and his remarks upon this play plainly tend to the same object. He takes occasion to bestow the highest commendations on the character of Julius Cesar, as the leader of the popular party, and the avenger of their wrongs upon a tyrannical aristocracy. Brutus and Cassius are no better than fanatical assassins, and are accountable for all the troubles and miseries that ensued upon the death of Julius. There is a foundation of truth in these ideas, especially in regard to the merits of the disputes between the Patricians and the Plebeians. It is admitted by the best critical inquirers, that the account of these matters by Livy is partial, and that the right was generally with the Plebeians, especially in the commencement of these quarrels. But the parties stood on entirely different ground in the time of Cesar, and were it otherwise, his conduct would not be the more justifiable. His prodigious powers and various accomplishments are undeniable, but like Napoleon he had no sentiment of true greatness. It is equally clear, however, that the enterprize of Brutus and Cassius, though made with upright intentions, was ill contrived and worse executed, and productive in the end of much evil and no good. The reader may perhaps be amused by the adroit flattery of Bonaparte in the following remarks, in which, after all, the author was probably pretty honest. The arrival of Bonaparte at the helm of state was generally viewed at first as a favourable event, and was so regarded, we believe, by some of our own politicians, who have since professed the strongest opposition to his proceedings and character.

'Patriotism in an honest and virtuous heart is the noblest of sentiments, but patriotism never commanded a crime. Montesquieu has spoken in a loose and partial manner of the conduct of Brutus. Without praising or blaming it very distinctly, he attempts to justify it to a certain degree. He mentions an old prejudice of the Grecian republics, admitted as a law at Rome, which made it the duty of every citizen to put to death any usurper of the sovereign power. *He does not mention that the real usurpers of the sovereign power were the senators themselves, and that they circulated this idea in order to make use of it against the good citizens, like the Gracchi, who attempted to restore the laws*

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and liberty. He does not tell us that Sylla, a far more cruel tyrant than Cesar, was praised and honoured because he was at the head of the Patrician faction; and that Cesar, the kindest and most generous of men, fell a victim to the pride of the senate because he was at the head of the popular party, and had put an end to the Patrician tyranny, which had so long crushed the nation. Finally, Montesquieu does not tell us that in a frightful chaos, where no law is acknowledged but force, *the chief, who establishes order under a legitimate title conferred on him by the people, is not the usurper of the sovereign power, but the benefactor of his country and the restorer of the republic.* Montesquieu had sufficient acquaintance with the history of Rome to perceive these truths, but he knew the spirit of his time too well to publish them.

'The first Brutus immortalized himself by creating the Roman republic, as Cesar did by destroying it, and erecting on its ruins the Roman empire. Liberty had no part in the operations of these men. Ambition did all: and Brutus, the founder of the republic, was far more haughty, imperious, and tyrannical, than Cesar, the founder of the empire. From the expulsion of the Tarquins till the establishment of the tribunes, and even till the enacting of the Licinian law, the Roman people, that is the whole Plebeian class, was in a state of slavery more abject than that of the populace of Constantinople and Ispahan at the present day. They relapsed into the same state after the murder of the Gracchi, and only recovered their liberty under the dictatorship of Julius Cesar, the leader of the popular party, who subdued the pride of the senate on the plains of Pharsalia, crushed the factions, and put an end to anarchy. These were his crimes, and for these he was assassinated by the hands of senators in the midst of the senate.

'This then was a bad subject for a tragedy, since Cesar, the deliverer, the benefactor of his country, is falsely represented as a usurper, as the destroyer of liberty, and the interest is attached *to a horde of banditti called senators*, who, under the vain pretext of patriotism and liberty, are cowardly enough to assassinate a man, who had given them their lives on the field of battle.'

This was written in 1806. The play was always interpreted during the revolution in a sense very favourable to popular principles, and contributed its share in producing the excitement of that period. It was frequently represented twice the same evening, and by the same actors.

After the time of Voltaire, the French theatre presents but little interest. The astonishing success of the *Mariage de*

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Figaro is, however, a curious occurrence in political as well as literary history, and exhibits in a very remarkable manner the state of public feeling in France, just before the revolution. The piece is nothing more than a long farce in five acts, intended to ridicule the aristocracy of Europe. The author, whose name will live in the journals of our congress if no where else, had acquired a great ephemeral celebrity, by certain political writings connected with the affairs of the day. The piece was read in private circles with much approbation, but the court refused for some time to allow it to be acted. Our Professor relates the circumstances with much apparent gravity; one would suppose that some important political measure was in agitation.

'Cependant le Roi investi de toutes partes faisait encore quelque resistance; l'opinion en imposait à ses lumières: son desir de popularité luttait contre sa conscience. Il se laissa un jour arracher la permission de faire un essai de cet ouvrage fameux sur le théâtre des Menus. Voilà les comédiens Français qui se preparent au grand œuvre. Tout Paris est en rumeur. La nouvelle de la victoire de Devain y avait jadis causé moins d'ivresse. On se dispute, on s'arrache les billets d'entrée. Dès le matin, les voitures defilent avec fracas; mais, ô douleur! à onze heures un ordre du ministre défend la representation, un deuil general succéde à l'allégresse. les equipages se retournèrent tristement, aut petit pas, et les chevaux l'œil morne et la tête baissée semblaient partager le chagrin de leur maitres.

'Les irresolutions du foible monarque flottant entre le bon sens et la philosophie se prolongèrent un tems considérable: c'étoit un cercle continual de permissions révoquées presqu' aussi tôt qu'accordées. *Beaumarchais* sans se rebuter pressoit le siège avec une ardeur infatigable. Enfin la philosophie triompha: il étoit dans l'ordre du destin que l'ancienne monarchie fût détruite et *que les rênes de l'empire Français fussent remises en des mains plus fermes et plus sûres.* A force d'importunités, de persévérance et d'intrigue, Beaumarchais arracha au gouvernement la permission de le berner. Il fallait, ou ne jamais la refuser ou ne l'accorder jamais. Tout gouvernement périt par sa faiblesse plutôt que par sa tyrannie.

'Enfin Figaro fut accordé à la curiosité et à l'impatience publique. Jamais représentation ne fut plus tumultueuse et plus bruyante. Beaucoup d'amateurs couchèrent la veille à la comédie dans les loges des acteurs, afin d'être plus sûr de trouver place le lendemain. Les fastes du théâtre n'offrent point d'exemple d'un succès aussi prodigieux et aussi constant. La piece eut cent

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representations extraordinairement suivies ; le public semblait ne pouvoir se rassassier de cette farce, véritable thermomètre du goût qui regnait alors. Elle valut cinq cent mille francs aux comédiens et quatre vingt mille francs à l'auteur.

'Mais la fortune n'avait pris plaisir à elever si haut Beaumarchais que pour le trahir plus cruellement: l'autorité ne s'etoit montrée si faible, si indulgente, si aveugle en sa faveur, que pour deployer ensuite contre lui une rigeur hors de saison au moment même de son triomphe: à la soixtante quatorzième representation de la pièce, Beaumarchais fut arrêté et conduit à la maison de correction de Saint Lazare comme un jeune libertin. Il avait alors cinquante cinq ans et pouvait être regardé comme incorrigible. On rit le prémier jour de ce coup d'autorité: le second on en demanda la raison: le troisième on raisonna, commença même à plaindre le prisonnier ; la quatrième on apprit que par un trait d'inconstance aussi singulière que tout le reste, le gouvernement avait rendu la liberté à Beaumarchais. *Figaro* étant alors suspendu par l'indisposition d'un acteur, il parait que le gouvernement s'étoit chargé de donner au public la Comedie.'

The last of the volumes is occupied by remarks upon contemporary writers. We have no room for further extracts, and if we had, our readers would probably take no great interest in poets, whose names and works are never heard of out of France, and hardly within it. Some of the judgments of our author upon the literature of other nations, particularly England and Germany, would perhaps contribute more to their amusement, and we had intended to extract a part of his observations upon Shakspeare, but the length to which this article has aready extended makes it necessary for us to omit them, and hasten at once to a close.

ART. XVII.—*Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry.* Philadelphia, M. Carey & Son, 1819, pp. 280.

THIS work owes not a little of its present size to the insertion of memorials to Congress in favour of manufacturers and other public documents, among which the report of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury in 1790, extracted from his works, may be recommended to our readers for their instruction ; and that of the committee of commerce and manufactures to the House of Representatives in 1816, for their amusement. The rest and the original matter contain-

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ed in the book excite no other remark, than that most of the facts stated in them seem to be at war with the arguments, and to show that demestic manufactures have advanced with unexampled rapidity, and of course need no further protection. We proceed, accordingly, without further preface, to make a few remarks on the important topics involved in the present discussions on the encouragement respectively due to the manufacturing and commercial interests, in our country.

That the wealth of a nation consists of the wealth of the individuals composing it, that individuals will seek the promotion of their own interest, and that their efforts to promote it will in the main be rightly directed, are positions which seem to lie at the very foundation of all systems of political economy. Hence legislative attempts to encourage any one kind of industry above others are always either pernicious or futile; for, if the occupation to be encouraged is in fact more profitable to those, who may engage in it, than any other, they will be sure to undertake it without the patronage of government, and on the other hand, if a different pursuit is more profitable to them, it must for that very reason be more so to the public. It needs no law to induce men to seek their own emolument, and to procure every thing they want where it is cheapest, whether abroad or at home. Whatever they can buy for less than it would cost them to make it, they will prefer to buy, and by devoting as much labour as they must have employed in making it, to some more profitable occupation, will obtain not only enough to pay for it, but a surplus for use or for the purchase of some other commodity, a surplus, which is so much gained both to the individual and to the nation.

Prohibiting the introduction of foreign manufactures or imposing taxes on them can benefit the domestic manufacturer only so far as it tends to increase the price in our own market of the articles, whose importation is thus restrained, and is therefore, as this difference in the price is paid by the consumer, a tax on the community; the effect of which is to encourage the production of those articles at home; whereas it does not need encouragement, if it is the most lucrative employment, and ought not have it, if it is not so.

Such are the principles so fully developed and ably supported by Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations, and from which he deduces the conclusion, that no government ought to aid

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any particular branch of industry, or to impose the least restraint on trade, whether foreign or domestic. He admits indeed that when such restraints have been established, they should not be suddenly removed, but slowly, gradually, and after long warning; so that persons, who have engaged in any pursuit under their encouragement, may not suffer by being obliged to abandon it all at once in search of a new one. Perhaps he lays too little stress on this last consideration, but his general train of reasoning has never been refuted. Yet the conclusion, to which it leads him, has never governed the conduct of practical men, and is directly at variance with the policy of the most enlightened nations.

Adam Smith himself indeed does not recommend its universal application, but emphatically approves the English navigation act, which the greatest statesmen of that country have always considered one of the principal sources of its prosperity. This exception however is made, not on the ground that the act is favourable to commerce, or has any tendency to enrich the nation, for it is asserted to be a burden on the people, like every other restriction of trade; but because it contributes directly to defence, which is more important than opulence; and the tax, which it imposes on the public, is a cheap price for security.

Another exception is that of the importation of articles, on whose domestic manufacture some tax is imposed, in which case it is considered politic and favourable to the freedom of trade to lay an equal burden on the introduction of the same articles from abroad. Retaliatory taxes imposed on goods imported from nations, who restrain or prohibit the importation of our productions into their territories, are approved, by this writer, only when designed to counteract the effect of the restraints or prohibitions complained of, or to bring about their repeal.

To this system of political economy it has been objected, that, carried to its full extent, it might make a nation dependent on others for the comforts or for the very necessaries of life, so that an interruption of its established commerce would occasion great and general suffering. It is further said, that even with regard to conveniences or mere luxuries, though they may be bought cheaper from a foreign nation during peace, yet that a war may increase their price so much and the time of war may bear so great a proportion to that

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of peace, as to render them on the whole more costly than they would be if manufactured at home. These objections have much weight, and for ourselves we readily admit that the system of Smith, as stated and limited by himself, cannot safely be made the rule of legislation.

We cannot however adopt the language of some of the memorials, which burden the floor of Congress, and which take it for granted that since the conclusion laid down by the author of the Wealth of Nations is erroneous or too unqualified, all his principles are therefore false. We cannot assert that by establishing manufactories, a nation gains the whole difference between the value of the manufactured articles and that of the raw materials composing them, because it is obvious that if the labour employed in them would otherwise have been devoted to some more lucrative occupation, the public loses by their establishment; and at any rate the profit, that would have been obtained by the workmen in the business, which they would otherwise have pursued, must be deducted from the value added to the raw material by their labour, in order to determine the net gain to the community. Otherwise the more it costs us to make any thing, the greater our inducement to do so; and nothing, which could possibly be made at home, should ever be procured abroad. The absurdity of such pretensions is well exposed by Smith, who states that very good wine might be raised in Scotland for about thirty times its present price, by means of glasses, stoves, and hotbeds, and asks if it be therefore reasonable and politic to prohibit its importation from France, in order to encourage its domestic production.

Some of our memorialists have even gone so far in their zeal as to deny the plain proposition, that it is more profitable to nations, as to individuals, to buy what they want cheap rather than dear. They profess indeed not to wish their doctrines carried immediately to their full extent in practice. But if they are true in their full extent, they ought to be enforced, and if not, the principles, which limit their application, ought to be pointed out. The conduct of the government should be regulated by sound principles, and not by the varying wishes of any class of men. The repetition of such futile propositions and inconclusive arguments as have been urged of late in favour of manufactures will ultimately injure the cause it is designed to promote; for no reliance

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could be placed on the permanence and consistency of measures resting on so false a foundation, and it would evidently be more disadvantageous to manufacturers themselves that restrictions imposed for their benefit should be hastily repealed, than that they should never have been enacted. Nothing is more mischievous in the laws, particularly in those affecting the credit or occupations of individuals, than instability; and such laws should never be passed unless they are founded on some established and sound system, and supported by motives, which may be expected to preserve their influence over successive legislatures.

We have already admitted the system of Smith to be an unsafe guide, and therefore his reasoning must be erroneous, or at least defective, omitting the limitations and conditions necessary to make it applicable in practice, the only quality which gives value to any system. It is less important to decide whether it would be better for all nations to have abstained from commercial restrictions, than to point out the line of conduct, which it is expedient for a single nation to pursue in the actual state of things.

The fundamental error in that writer's argument is the assumption that enlightened self-interest is the sole guide of human conduct. Were this so, there would be no need of restrictions on trade, or indeed of any laws at all. It is true that the system requires a universal and intelligent pursuit of pecuniary interest only. Even this however is too much. Habit and indolence have an influence not less general, though it may seem less violent, than that of interest. We see them overpower it every day both in individuals and in communities. Men pursue the occupations, in which they were brought up, not only while they are profitable, but as long as they afford a subsistence; and what a difficult and slow process it is to civilize a barbarous people. It is then a national advantage, particularly where the population is rapidly increasing, to have a great variety of employments for industry, as each is in that case less likely to be too crowded, and a greater scope is afforded for the exercise of various capacities.

The error just mentioned is nearly connected with another, into which this distinguished writer has fallen, viz. the supposition that there is in every nation a certain quantity of labour, and that the encouragement of any pursuit can never

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increase that quantity; but only divert part of it from one channel to another. Were the desire of gain indeed the only motive by which men are influenced, every one would labour to his utmost in the occupation, which he deemed most profitable. But in countries, where the people are employed exclusively in agriculture, still more where they are mere shepherds, and most of all where their subsistence is principally derived from the chace, they are at work but a very small portion of the time. The introduction of manufactures among them might increase the quantity of labour very much and its value still more, without diminishing in any degree the activity or productiveness of their former employments. Hence the establishment of such manufactures as call into action those who would otherwise be unemployed, and afford constant occupation for the intervals of leisure existing in other pursuits, may be said to create so much industry, the productions of which, increased perhaps by the use of powerful machinery, are a clear profit added to the common stock. Admitting then all restraints on trade for the encouragement of domestic manufactures to be a tax on the community, there may still be cases in which this tax is more than compensated, by the fruits of the additional quantity of labour to which it gives rise.

It is evident that these remarks do not show the system under consideration to be entirely fallacious, they do not subvert the position, that restraining the freedom of foreign trade can benefit any class of citizens, only by enabling them to obtain from their own countrymen a higher price for their labour than they could otherwise do, and that this difference of price is an immediate public burden. They do not shake the general truth of the maxim, that it is best to supply our wants on the cheapest terms possible, but only show that there are important exceptions to its application. With some exceptions, however, the maxim is a safe guide for nations, as well as for individuals. But it by no means warrants the conclusion, that no taxes or restraints should be imposed for the purpose of encouraging domestic industry. The question is not what is cheapest at the present moment, but what is cheapest in the end.

If a monopoly of any business by a single class of our own countrymen tends to establish exorbitant prices, a monopoly in the hands of foreigners is not less dangerous; and those

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who are secure from all competition in our market, whether in consequence of their own laws or of ours, have a monopoly in effect. Is it asserted that if founded on their laws, the tax is paid by their own nation? It may be so at first; but the object and the tendency of all monopoly is ultimately to throw a burden on the consumer. Let it not be said that if they abuse it by demanding extravagant prices, these prices alone will be a sufficient inducement for some of our own citizens to become their competitors. Such assertions are founded on the supposition that men will instantly abandon the pursuit in which they have been educated, to engage in that which is most profitable; a supposition not true with regard to any employment, and least of all in manufactures carried on by extensive and complicated machinery, in which much time, labour, and expense are requisite in order to maintain a successful competition with ancient and costly establishments. It is a common error to reject the greatest and best founded hopes of the future, when a sacrifice of the present, however slight, is necessary to realize them. Nor are the novelty, difficulty, and expense of such an enterprize the only obstacles to it. Since the advantages of possessing a monopoly are so great, it is very supposable that foreigners may attempt to ruin all new competitors by underselling them for a time, and thus endure a present loss, in order to perpetuate a monopoly, from which they will take care to derive at last an abundant compensation. Indeed the natural and necessary effect of every such new establishment is to diminish the demand for the productions of those, which previously existed, and these are thus apt to become overstocked and tempted to sell at reduced prices. This process is universally asserted in Germany and Holland to have been carried on, upon the largest scale by the English manufacturers, since the peace; who, out of policy or the necessity we have just mentioned, have stocked the continental markets with their fabrics, at less than the cost of manufacture.

Though every restriction, therefore, of trade, foreign or domestic, is an immediate tax on the public, and no class of citizens can receive legislative aid but at the expense of the rest, it is nevertheless for the interest of a nation to impose such restrictions, when they tend to provide the means of defence; to establish a useful variety of occupations, to increase the quantity and efficiency of labour, or to make the supply of its

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wants cheaper on the whole than it would be without them, provided that in every such case the benefit thus ultimately obtained be a full compensation for the present burden. It is difficult to be definite on this subject, without entering into details, which our readers would deem too minute and tedious; for the propriety of any restriction depending on a comparison of the immediate inconvenience it may produce with the advantages which will subsequently result from it, every measure of this kind must be influenced by many considerations peculiar to itself and to the occupation it is designed to encourage.

Among the means of defence may be mentioned in the first place, implements and munitions of war. For any country to expose itself to the hazard of being surprised unprovided with these would be little less than fatuity. There are but two modes of providing them for a nation whose foreign commerce would be interrupted by a war, to import them during peace and preserve them in public magazines; or to secure their domestic manufacture by premiums and bounties, or by restraints on their importation. Both these measures are expensive to the public, but the last is the most efficient. A government that should undertake to hoard up warlike implements and munitions, must always procure more than it will actually need in order to be sure of having enough, and after all might find the most abundant provision exhausted by the length and severity of a contest, besides the loss of interest on their value, and that occasioned by their deterioration;—while the manufacture of them adapts the supply to the occasion, and instead of being exhausted, extends and increases with the increase of demand. The establishment of such manufactures, therefore, may be the best mode of securing the means of defence, even where it is the most expensive; but in our country it is the universal and undoubtedly the correct opinion, sanctioned too by the practice of the government, that it is the least so.

The means of subsistence and the common comforts of life are also essential to security. But the want of these does not increase like that of munitions of war with the difficulty of obtaining them. It is constant, and not materially varied by a transition from peace to war. This steadiness of demand, together with their bulk, which renders their transportation difficult and expensive, affords such advantages to

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their domestic production, as to ensure it in most countries without the patronage of the legislature. In our own, assuredly, a war, deemed just and expedient, would not be delayed a moment by the apprehension that we could not provide ourselves with necessary food and clothing.

Naval stores are likewise necessary for our defence; but the demand for these too is constant, so that the want of them would not immediately increase with the difficulty of their importation. Those accumulated for commercial purposes, would on a sudden interruption of commerce afford a present supply for naval armaments. Hemp is one of the principal articles of this kind which we import, and before the stock on hand, on a commencement of hostilities, should be exhausted, its culture, already carried on in the Western States, might be so far extended, as to raise it in abundance and of an excellent quality. It would be much more difficult in case of a permanent interruption of commerce, to procure sail cloth. None comparable to that of Russia either in cheapness or durability has hitherto been made by any other nation. Its manufacture cannot be easily established or speedily extended, and it would be provident to cherish and encourage it even at a considerable expense, as soon as it can be done with a rational prospect of success.

The advantages resulting from a great variety of domestic employments in preventing any one from being crowded, affording scope for various capacities and dispositions, and giving activity to every occupation by facilitating internal trade, are direct and obvious enough to require legislative provisions only in rude countries or in such as are merely agricultural or pastoral. But though this consideration alone rarely justifies the imposition of restrictions on trade in refined countries and least of all among a very enterprising people; yet it should have much weight in preventing the obstruction of any channel of industry already formed.

Those occupations, which increase the actual quantity of labour by affording employment for time, which would otherwise be wasted, are most deserving of encouragement. But they have least need of it, because the whole labour created by them is a clear profit to the individuals engaged in them, as well as to the public, and they are therefore in no danger from foreign competition. Instances of these are household manufactures, and those carried on by children. The form-

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er, though they require more time and exertion than is sufficient to produce the same effect in large establishments, where more perfect machinery is used, and the division of labour is carried to a greater extent, are highly advantageous to the nation both in a moral and economical view. Not only they do not impede the employment. whose intervals they occupy, but they often promote its success, by establishing habits of method and activity.

There are then limitations to the application of the rule that a nation should seek the supply of its wants where it can be found cheapest. As a general rule, however, it is correct; and the main error of the system founded on it is the deduction that no restraints should be imposed on trade in favour of domestic industry. Since monopoly tends to enhance prices, and competition to diminish them, it is obviously profitable to a nation for its citizens to enter into competition with foreigners; and the amount of this profit in any occupation depends on its necessity and general use; and on the degree to which its productions are improved and their price diminished by the competition. Whatever this amount may be in a particular instance, it is certainly good policy to purchase it at the expense of any present burden, which is necessary to obtain it, and at the same time not more than a fair equivalent for it.

The supposition that we shall have it as speedily for nothing; that as soon as competition is a general benefit in any pursuit, it instantly springs up of itself, is inconsistent with common experience, with the fact that men are often deterred from a new undertaking by the great expense necessary for its commencement, by the time requisite for acquiring a competent degree of skill, by fear of the opposition of those who already possess its monopoly, or by a doubt whether the benefits to be gained will be realized during the life of those, who first undertake it, however certain it may be that they will ultimately accrue to the nation.

The natural situation and climate of some countries give them such advantages for certain pursuits, that no present encouragement could enable our citizens to rival them hereafter in these on equal terms, even in our own market. What would be thought of excluding teas, wines and brandy, with the design of encouraging their production at home? There are, however, many manufactures, which, once established,

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may enter into fair competition here with those of any other country, since these must be burdened with all the expenses of transportation. It is true, indeed, that wages are higher among us than in any part of Europe; but this difference is more than counterbalanced in some cases, as in coarse manufactures of iron, those of wood, skins and glass, by the freight of articles, whose bulk is so great in proportion to their value. Where the work is principally done by women and children, or by the aid of powerful machinery, this difference in the price of labour is less or less important. In manufactures, whose raw materials are produced in our country cheaper and better than elsewhere, so as to be objects of export, the domestic workman has an additional advantage by being saved the charge and delay of two transportations, and sometimes of two imposts.

The ultimate benefit derived by the community from the encouragement of any branch of domestic industry depending, in general, on the increase of competition, it may be objected that prohibitions of importation or duties amounting to them do not increase competition but destroy it, or at best, even in case of articles previously monopolized by some other nation, can do no more than transfer the monopoly to our own own countrymen. The remark is just; and therefore perpetual prohibitions or perpetual prohibitory duties are always impolitic, and a tax on the public, except when the domestic competition is so great as to afford the article prohibited at the cheapest rate, and in this case they are entirely unnecessary. Undoubtedly duties should be imposed on every employment of foreigners interfering with the settled occupations of domestic industry, at least equivalent to the bounties granted them in their own country, for this tends to preserve a fair competition and to prevent a monopoly by them. But beyond this it is very questionable whether such duties should be permanently fixed at a higher rate than the most profitable, which is the highest, that can be established without excluding competition from abroad, and thus giving a single class of citizens the advantages of a monopoly, to the injury of the rest.

When further support is proper, the cheapest and most efficient is to grant bounties or premiums, though this would be more unpopular than measures in reality less economical. Heavy imposts or even temporary prohibitions, whose amount

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and duration must depend on the nature of the pursuit to be encouraged, on the charges to be incurred and the skill acquired before it can be fully established are also admissible; for a temporary monopoly may produce a general benefit, though a permanent one cannot.

The encouragement of a particular occupation being of necessity an immediate charge on the community, it can be justified only by showing that this expense will be counterbalanced by the common benefit, which it will ultimately produce; and since every benefit should be obtained on as good terms as possible, the burden ought to be the least, that is adequate to the accomplishment of its object. When, therefore, sufficient encouragement is given to any pursuit to ensure its continuance, its extension should in ordinary cases be left to time and industry.

In selecting objects for the patronage of the nation, those should be preferred, which promise the most abundant and speedy remuneration for its aid, those which from the situation of the country or the character of the people, are likely to be most extensively cultivated here, and most successful in competition with foreign productions; those in short to which our circumstances are best adapted, which therefore need the least artificial excitement, and whose protection is of course least burdensome and their progress most rapid. The consequences of attempts to promote these will enable us to judge with more confidence of the propriety of extending such patronage to those departments of industry, whose support requires a greater sacrifice and presents a more doubtful result.

In making this selection it is also of great importance to consider what new business is least likely to interfere with any branch of national industry already flourishing. If it is not for the good of the whole community that a particular pursuit should be encouraged, it ought not to be so; and if it is for the good of the whole, the whole should bear the burden. Since individuals cannot instantly change their employments without considerable loss, to prevent by new laws the prosecution of one already carried on is an immediate and positive injury to those engaged in it, and is equally impolitic and unjust. Such is the preposterous proposition to abolish drawbacks and thus throw away much of the carrying trade, which if not the cause of national prosperity, has

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at least always been followed by it, whose acquisition in every age and country has been attended by national power, wealth, and refinement, and whose loss has been as universally the prelude of decay. The effects of this wanton blow would be generally felt. By it our produce would be excluded in effect from all the ports, where it is sent only as part of a cargo, the residue of which consists of foreign articles re-exported; and its sale would every where be greatly embarrassed, and its price of course depressed; since we could not exchange it with other nations for those of their commodities, whose purchase would be most profitable to us, but should be limited to such as we could manage to consume at home. This abolition could be advantageous to manufacturers only, as it might raise their relative wealth in society by injuring another prosperous class of citizens, more than it injures them. For it is obvious that it would be injurious even to them by preventing the free and abundant importation of the materials necessary for carrying on their business; thus enhancing their price and rendering the manufactures of our own country less able to rival those of Europe. It is worthy of remark that one of the measures recommended by Alexander Hamilton for the direct encouragement of domestic manufactures is the allowance of a drawback on the materials composing them.

Acquitting the manufacturers, however, of the absurdity of desiring all that some of them demand, or intending to propose the abolition of drawbacks in all cases; and supposing them to confine it to those articles whose use may diminish the consumption of domestic manufactures, we still think this the worst of all modes of giving them encouragement, because it would keep the demand for such articles perpetually fluctuating. No more would be imported than was intended for internal consumption, and the average quantity consumed would be about the same, whether a drawback existed or not. But any circumstance rendering the supply occasionally insufficient would enhance the price, which would tempt a sudden increase of importation, and if this or any other event should for a time glut the home market, and the abolition of drawbacks prevent exportation, a great depreciation would take place in these articles, and of course in the domestic manufactures, with which they came into competition. This is one of the inconveniences constantly attending a very lim-

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ited market. The most extensive demand is always the most steady, and the steadiness of demand, or what amounts to the same thing, of price, is the only safe reliance of manufacturers. A much lower than the average price directly injures them, and a much higher tends to occasion such an increase of their number as to make them ruin each other by competition.

Requiring the payment of duties on all merchandise on its delivery from the custom-house, would be less pernicious than the abolition of drawbacks; but so far as its object is to restrain commerce for the benefit of manufacturers, it is equally unjust. What apology is there for sacrificing the interests of one class of citizens to those of another? If the change proposed be necessary for the administration of government, and to ensure the due collection of the revenue, it ought to be adopted, for it is then a burden imposed for the public good; but it is quite another and a different thing, in effect as well as in origin, when imposed to gratify the demands of manufacturers alone. In such case it would be a most mischievous precedent.

To determine how far the measure is requisite to secure the collection of the revenue, it need only be stated, that the duties accruing from the customs, from the organization of the government to the end of the last year, amounted to more than three hundred and fifty one millions of dollars; that the sum lost by the insolvency of those bound for the payment of duties is about one million, and that which is doubtful little more than five hundred thousand, both which sums together are not equal to half of one per cent on the whole amount. The sum lost by the defalcation of collectors and other receivers of public money is about the same, and that lost by the misconduct of officers employed in disbursing it much greater. The multiplication of public officers and the ware-houses which would be necessary under the proposed system must render it far more expensive, than that hitherto pursued. The present mode is rather a convenience to the government by enabling them to calculate more accurately before hand the amount of revenue which will accrue in any year, and thus to provide for an occasional deficiency.

Both these measures have a tendency to diminish the revenue, the abolition of drawbacks by preventing the introduction of any goods for re-exportation, on which the government

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retains two and a half per cent of the duties, and the refusal of a credit on duties, by diminishing the commercial capital employed.

The freedom of trade then, by creating and extending competition, is conducive to public prosperity, and ought never to be restrained but in order to obtain some national advantage fully compensating the expense and inconvenience produced by the restriction. The obstruction of some channels of trade has been recently urged with much clamour, not for the encouragement of domestic industry, but on the ground, that though profitable to those engaged in them, they impoverish the nation. This is the case, we are told, in our commerce with those countries from which our imports are greater in value than our exports to them. The difference, it is said, is a debt, which must be paid by exporting specie, and of course lessens our national wealth, and the balance of trade is unfavourable. Though the absurdity of this whole doctrine has been frequently exposed, it is still repeated, and we know no mode of preventing its gaining credit like many other errors by mere reiteration in spite of argument, but to oppose to it the repetition of the truth.

Even if the theory of the balance of trade were correct, the usual method of ascertaining this balance, by comparing the values of our exports and imports at their respective places of shipment, which seems by a late law to be adopted in Congress, is absurd; for according to this, in every case all a merchant looses on his outward voyage is calculated as gain, and all he gains as a loss. If his ship sink in the ocean, her cargo swells the amount of exports, while there is no corresponding return, and thus renders the balance of trade so much more favourable to the country than if she had gone safe. On the other hand, if her outward cargo sells for twice as much as it cost, and the whole amount is brought back in foreign merchandise, here, say these economists, is a total loss equal to the sum originally exported, for the difference between these two cargoes is of course a debt, which the country must pay in specie. Yet in truth it has contracted no debt and is to pay no specie, but has gained the very sum which is thus called a loss. The only means of ascertaining the amount of debt incurred by a nation in any branch of foreign commerce is to compare the value of its exports, where they are sold with that of its imports where they are pur-

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chased. This would show how much it has to pay to any country beyond the value of direct exports to it. But it is by no means certain that this debt will be paid in specie. Our domestic productions may be sent to some third country, where goods which perhaps we do not want, and our creditors do, may be obtained to satisfy their claim. Or it may be paid in specie, without our exporting an ounce of gold or silver. Suppose a merchant, having imported a cargo of oil from the Mediterranean wholly on credit, to send it to Russia, and there sell it for enough to pay the debt in specie, and also to purchase a cargo for home, surely this last cargo is so much gained. And yet, according to the theory of the balance of trade, it is so much lost.

Admitting, however, that the balance of trade with a single foreign nation cannot be thus ascertained, still it is said that the excess of all the merchandise imported over all that exported must be paid for, and this can be done only by the precious metals. It is true that if the cost to our citizens of goods imported be greater than the proceeds of their goods exported, the difference ought to be paid; but not necessarily in money. It may be in labour, as by the carrying trade. Or if goods be imported on credit obtained abroad, and never paid for, a circumstance which occurs but too often, how can this be deemed a total loss to the country of the debtor? It may be an evidence of his poverty, but certainly it is not the cause of it, and must tend to impoverish the country of his creditor rather than his own. If the value of our imports and exports be taken in our own market, so far is it from being true, that the excess of the former is a gain, and that of the latter a loss, that including the precious metals, or supposing their importation and exportation equal, which is much more nearly the case in the ordinary course of trade, than is commonly supposed, the converse of the proposition is the truth; the excess of imports over exports is gained, and the excess of exports, which these economists call the measure of profit, is in fact the exact amount lost. It cannot need an argument to show that any one gains, what he receives more than he gives, and loses, what he gives more than he receives. It is a fact which ought to shut the mouths of Americans on this question, that since the establishment of our constitution, during a course of unexampled prosperity, while commerce has been pouring over the land a flood of

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wealth, this pretended balance of trade has always appeared unfavourable to us.

The trade with the East Indies is also particularly condemned, because it is said that it diminishes the quantity of specie in the country, and that this necessarily impedes public prosperity. Both assertions are erroneous. A great and constant demand in any place for specie, as for other property, no matter how it is to be used, tends to make it more abundant and cheaper, by establishing a steady and extensive market for it. Hence it is, that ever since the East India trade has been known, specie has been cheapest and most abundant where that trade has been most extensively pursued, and that Venice, Lisbon, Amsterdam, and London, have been, as they successively possessed it, the bankers of Europe.

Specie indeed is not a mere sign of value, but as really valuable as any other property we possess beyond the quantity we can consume, because it enables us to command the labour of others and may be given for whatever we want. It may be exchanged at all times and in all places for the commodities we most desire, more readily than any other goods; and in this alone consists its peculiar value. If then certain nations or individuals desire to have tea and silk more than any thing else, the principal worth of specie to them is its power of purchasing these articles, and if such purchases be prevented, its real value is diminished. It is perfectly immaterial whether our payments to foreigners be made in specie or in merchandise. Every thing we purchase must be paid for at last by our own productions. Money may be the article which we give immediately, but how did we purchase the money? It could only be by the fruits of our own capital, or of our own toil.

The preposterous position, that a trade may impoverish the nation, while it enriches all the individuals engaged in it, is not confined to our street politicians, but is heard even in Congress. An act has recently passed, requiring a statement on oath of the cost at the place of shipment of all merchandise, imported or exported, whose value is not already ascertained under the existing laws. Specie is probably intended to be omitted, under the absurd idea, that the value of our whole imports and exports must be equal, and that therefore if the amount of merchandise be known, the quantity of specie can be easily estimated. The treasury, however,

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which sometimes works wonders by construction, may construe the general term merchandise to include specie, and in that case, if the law be fully executed, the excess of imports over exports will show the gain of all outward voyages; and estimating the value of both in our own market, the same excess will be the whole profit of our foreign commerce. This is exactly the converse of the common rule.

With regard to manufactures, we rejoice to see them flourish because their natural and spontaneous growth is an evidence of prosperity. But they ought not to be supported at all hazards and at every expense. The example of England is often appealed to, and we are told in our newspapers, that she owes her greatness to her laws for the encouragement of manufactures. The most distinguished and enlightened of her own statesmen and economists, however, agree in attributing it principally to her immense commerce, and in ascribing the poverty of the lower classes of her people to the inordinate extension of manufactures.

We sometimes hear complaints, that our shipping has been too much encouraged by Congress. Now, what is the extent of this encouragement? The advantage given to Americans by discriminating duties has not been greater than other governments gave at the same time to their citizens, and its effect has been to place all carriers on equal ground, to increase competition instead of precluding it, to prevent foreigners from seizing a monopoly, not to give one to our own merchants. The activity and skill resulting from this competition has made both freight and insurance far cheaper than they otherwise could have been. That our merchants want nothing more, and depend solely on their own exertions for success, is proved by the fact, that not a murmur has been uttered by them against the last commercial treaty with Great Britain, by which the shipping of the greatest commercial nation, that ever existed, has been placed in free competiton with ours; but on the contrary they consider it an advantage.

A refusal to impose on foreign vessels in our ports burdens equivalent to those imposed on ours in theirs, would enable any nation to obtain a monopoly of our trade with them, and when they have once secured this, who can doubt but they will take care to derive from it the utmost profit possible, and compensate themselves abundantly for the difficulty and expense of acquiring it?

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ART. XVIII.—*An appeal from the judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America. Part first, containing an historical outline of their merits and wrongs as colonies; and strictures upon the calumnies of the British writers. By Robert Walsh, jr. Second edition.* Philadelphia, Mitchell, Ames, & White, 1819, 8vo, pp. 512.

THERE is a great deal of justice in the following expression from the famous Essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, by President Adams; 'Is there not something extremely fallacious in the common-place images of mother country and children colonies?' (p. 136, London edition, 1768.) We should be inclined to extend the idea farther. One hears a good deal of national friendships and national enmities; of parental and of filial regards between states; but we are apt to think that this sort of language has at best but a rhetorical correctness. One sees, even in private life, and between individual men, that the members of the same family, born of one blood and nursed at one bosom, need but to wander away in different paths of pursuit, or get entangled in opposite parties, or wedded to rival interests, and all the tenderness of relationship is forgotten, and they go beyond even strangers in the cruelty of their jealousies and enmities. As between nations there are no such strong ties to be broken, no such tender sensibilities to be wounded, it is not natural that the general and abstract prepossessions, which may exist between them, should survive the first shocks of conflicting commercial or political interests. Are nations remote and disconnected from us, then we are indifferent to them. There is certainly no people on the earth whom we have less cause to dislike, than the inhabitants of the Birman empire. But we do not know them, we are not acquainted with them, we do not meet them on the highways of the sea or earth, which we frequent. We have no doubt they are excellent people, and have an excellent government; as good a people and as good a government as those of Russia, Hayti, or Turkey; but not having had occasion to interchange those little national presents of cargoes of silk, nankin, and tea; of cotton, tobacco, and flour, we have no more regard for them, than for our worst enemies. Then if nations are near, are contiguous, unless their insignificance make us indifferent to them, producing a political removal of the same effect as a geographical one, it is hardly possible to keep friendship, amidst the thou-

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sand cross interests that will arise in the way of intercourse. The governments will have an interest to make each other odious, on account of the unavoidable connexion of domestic and foreign politics. This was the case with our own country, during nearly the whole interval from the peace of 1783 to that of 1814. It was no small part of the political tactics, to render England and France respectively odious to the rival parties in our country. And when this object is once achieved, when the domestic parties in a free country are once distinctly associated with the question of the merits of foreign nations, any length of hostility, into which the public feeling may run, is adequately accounted for. It is not the topic, that gives the bitterness; it is the rival interests, the rising and falling, the out and the in, that are pledged upon the topic. The die, which gives and takes a fortune at a cast, is in itself wholly worthless; and the people of Hamburg, a hundred years ago, while disputing upon the question, whether, in the Lord's prayer, you should follow the German idiom, and say 'our Father,' or follow the Greek idiom, and say 'Father our,' cut each other's throats with as much zeal as they could have done, in a controversy of the most momentous and eventful nature. We have no doubt, that by far the greater part of the friendly and hostile feeling respectively cherished in this country toward England and France had its origin in the circumstance, that our own domestic politics had become involved in the question of their respective merits; involved we will not say accidentally, but certainly by a series of causes, in themselves too gradual in their operation to give rise to any great excitement, any farther than they might associate themselves with the leading political divisions. This is confirmed by what has been going on since the peace of 1814. The allaying of party spirit in our country, having deprived the controversy about foreign nations of its principal interest, we have become almost indifferent to France, and it does not enter any body's imagination to like or to dislike her.

The case is singularly different with respect to England. A spirit of hostility to that country seems to be prevailing in ours, and those who, during our political contests, went the farthest in their enmity to Great Britain, are now lost among the throng and mass of the nation, which is getting to breathe the same spirit with unusual unanimity. The imme-

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diate causes of this are pretty obvious. The extinction of parties has proved a great damper on the zeal with which we loved and praised Great Britain. We often eulogized Great Britain or France because our political opponents did the same; and in order to be heartily opposed, one must laud what his adversaries reprobated. But that instead of indifference, as in the case of France, a warm hostility of feeling has taken place in so many minds toward Great Britain, arises, we think, and it does not need Mr. Walsh's book to confirm the opinion, from the indiscriminate and virulent abuse, which has been lately heaped upon America, in English works that circulate too much among us to remain unknown, and with too great authority to be laughed at. There was always, indeed, a strange awkwardness, a game of cross purposes, in the partiality felt and expressed in this country toward England, and in England toward America. For it was the opposition to the administration in America that denounced Bonaparte, and sympathised with the English ministry, and was in consequence stigmatized at home as being under British influence. And it was the opposition in England, who resisted the ministry, and who felt but a very qualified jealousy of Bonaparte, that covered the American administration with praises. So that when the American eulogists of England went over to that country, they were bewildered with being embraced as cooperators in sustaining the great cause of continental rights against Britannic encroachment; and when the English admirers of America entered into explanations, it was always in favour of a policy which the friends of Great Britain in America itself regarded with horror. It was of course idle to expect that so ill compacted an association could long exist, or that any permanent friendship could grow up between nations, when those in each nation, that were nominally the friends of the other, were in reality the most directly in collision, and the opposition in one country sympathised with the administration in the other. It was soon found by the result that much which had been said and done on both sides had been from pure party annoyance; and the most zealous eulogists of America in the British parliament or the British journals, showed themselves ready to veer to the opposite side of the compass the moment the ministry could with most success be assailed from that quarter. It is now the ministry that will not interfere with

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Gen. Jackson or the Florida treaty, and it is the Marquis of Lansdowne and Mr. Tierney that are stirring up the lords and commons on the subject of the cruelty and ambition and the crying assumptions of this aspiring republic. Meantime, we, who like all honest people, wish to be thought and spoken well of in the world, and are sorely perplexed with this pitiless pelting from all quarters, are too apt, it may be, to generalize on the subject, and to suppose that there is a systematic and organized hostility to us in England, when perhaps the symptoms which seem to indicate such an hostility may be more easily accounted for. As far as it is the policy, real or imaginary, of the British government to discourage emigration to the United States, shop-keepers, manufacturers' agents, and Scotch gardeners, *gentlemen*, as lord Grey calls Fearon, will still be deputed to pick up or invent with local probabilities a few unlucky facts, in order to give a colouring to detraction, and frighten away the timid wanderer. Most of the travellers in our country fall within the categories which we have just given; and yet we cheerfully allow it possible for travellers of far different character, of fairer minds, and better breeding than the Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, who have commonly honoured us with their visits, to travel through America and return dissatisfied to their native land. What country does please and satisfy, we will not say English travellers, but any travellers? What are the feelings with which an Englishman returns from France, from Italy, from Germany? Is not his pilgrimage through these regions a conflict, a warfare, a long fret? Do not postillions and postmasters, tavern-keepers and landlords, custom-house officers, beggars, and brigands, classes of men alike in all countries and all ages; do not these and a score of other names not less ominous to the experienced traveller, wage a war with the British pilgrim from the quay of Calais back to the white cliffs of Dover, which fills his heart with bitterness to the end of his life; not however preventing him from repeating his trip in two or three years? Or look at a Frenchman in London, what a desolation he feels and shows in a London coffee-house, at a London play, in a London fog; with what yearnings of heart he thinks of Racine and the Français, when he sees elephants and trained dogs on the boards of Covent Garden and Drury Lane; and how he sighs for a cabinet at Very's and Beauvillier's, when with true patriarch-

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al simplicity a joint of beef is brought him at George's coffee-house, from which he is to cut his dinner, and from which half a dozen parties have cut before. And even if all these wondrous grievances, which beset the English traveller on the continent, or the French traveller in England, did not exist, and the pilgrims returned respectively to Paris and London full of the praises of the lands they had visited, what would these praises prove? Nothing but this, that among a thousand national imperfections and social evils, the nations in question happened not to have those which are most afflictive to travellers; this worshipful company being slow to make distinctions between conveniences and virtues, and holding that to be the best country, where the taverns are cleanest, and the post best served.

But we should despair of satisfying English travellers to any great degree, because, however liberal their spirit, it is impossible to become acquainted with a foreign country in a short or even a long excursion through it. The goodness of a land is not built up in its bricks and stones, does not abide in the bridges and turnpikes, nor chaffer on its exchanges; but it retreats to the fireside; it exists, if it exist any where, in family and social circles; it slumbers commonly in every-day times, and only awakes at a loud call, and on a great occasion. The traveller may not be present at these moments; he cannot get an unceremonious admission to these domestic retreats; he makes a few dinner-table acquaintances, picks up a few dates, and names, and facts, and fills up the rest of his book from the geographers, the newspapers, former travellers, and his own imagination. Moreover, he must be a foreigner of singular fairness, who does not partake a sort of jacobinical spirit of fault-finding, which is apt to operate, whenever we judge of any body but our own selves, our own city, our own country. It shows originality to find fault, and wit to detect ridiculous faults; and who would lose the credit of being original or witty, for want of finding or making a few imperfections in a foreign land? In a word, we have given up the idea of ever seeing a book of travels with any pretensions to merit or authority, which would satisfy those most concerned in it, since it came to our knowledge that Madame de Staël's de l'Allemagne was the horror of the Germans, for the liberties she takes with Germany; and of the French for the praises she bestows upon it. So that without

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supposing any political motive, we may probably never have a book of English travels in America, which will satisfy our demands. And if we should have, if we find a man praising us as zealously as our national vanity would dictate, be sure that it is out of despite to his own countrymen, and that he praises us to disparage them: as is the case with such writers as Cobbett.

Many of the attacks made upon us, especially in the journals of the opposition, may well be ascribed to the personal feeling of the unknown individual who writes them, and not to any supposed party, far less to the nation. A malignant contributor may be charged with the American department; or an abusive book of travels may have been entrusted, as a happy text to an unlucky wag, who is used to figuring, with success, under this broad cloak of corporate criticism, which covers up our individual weakness, and enables us little men to stand boldly under the shadow of a great name. Thus the celebrated review of Inchiquin's Letters in the XXII number of the Quarterly, which has been damned to a more infamous notoriety than ever before fell to the lot of a piece of criticism, and the article on America in the LXI number of the Edinburgh Review, are ascribed respectively, we know not how correctly, to contributors, reverend contributors too, whose names, if divulged, would break the charm of any fancied authority, that now goes with their anonymous opinions; and show us that the article in the Edinburgh Review was from a gentleman, who thinks a witticism, to whatever subject applied, quite as precious as a truth; and the article in the Quarterly Review from another gentleman, who holds a bishopric, by whatever means obtained, to be far goodlier than a deanery.

We do not wish to have it inferred from our remarks, that there is really no settled, regular hostility to America in any portion of the English community. It is on the contrary, quite natural, that something of the animosity, which was excited by the violent separation of the colonies, by such a stain on the British escutcheon, such a 'robbing of the crown of its brightest jewel,' that something of this animosity should have been transmitted to the present day. All the generation has not passed away, which was engaged immediately in the transactions and scenes, that must have filled so many British hearts with bitterness. All the eyes are not closed, which

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saw a vast and fertile continent torn proudly away from their empire. The brother is still living of that misguided minister, who ventured the heavy ship of state into this broken and perilous sea, and the royal hand, which signed the treaty of abdication of sovereignty over this continent, is but just laid motionless.

It can scarcely therefore be expected, that what was so grievous a mortification, at first, should have become a less one, when every year has shown more the richness of the pearl thrown away. If it were a cruel disaster to be dismembered of the comparatively insignificant colonies, the feelings with which that disaster was borne cannot be allayed, by finding how these colonies have grown up and increased; by finding that they lost not a little belt of population along the margin of the sea, but that mighty throng which is filling the continent, crossing the mountains, pursuing rivers to their source, compared with which the Danube and the Nile are small, and finishing the tour around the globe, which human population had never before achieved, by sitting down on the shores of the Pacific. Moreover, strong deep national impressions remain with a pertinacity in Europe, of which we, whose whole existence has been a succession of great and rapid changes, a course of active development, can hardly conceive. In the countries where no such fermentation is going on, where forms, institutions, families, tenures, and even dwellings are old, permanent, and hereditary, opinions often descend with as much regularity as estates and titles. It is a matter of course, that he who inhabits the venerable feudal castle to-day, should think on all great political points as he did who inhabited it thirty years ago. It has been pleasantly observed, that when the emigrants returned to France, after the restoration of Louis XVIII, they ran to the palace, to see whether beau Dillon was still standing as a guard on the Queen's stairs: and in the like spirit there are not wanting English authorities at the present day, who speak of the American revolution as a *rebellion*; and our brethren of the Quarterly Review allude to the separation of the countries as an event, 'at least as *unfortunate* for America as for England.' Such a spirit resides in the old families, in the church, in the hereditary political parties, though we are willing to own that the world has had such a thorough shaking together, and men have been thrown so often and so widely out of their

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track, by the agitations of the French revolution, that there are few periods in English, not to say European history, in which men have been so little indulged as the present generation, in the glorious privilege of holding to exploded theories, refuted arguments, and political measures, constantly repeated, and constantly discredited in their results.

But it is time to turn our attention particularly to Mr. Walsh's book. We have heard objections to its general design. It is a common remark, at least in this part of the country, that the unavoidable tendency of such vehement recrimination as it is supposed to contain, is to widen the breach, to perpetuate hostile feelings, and to awaken or cherish a bad spirit in our country toward the country, with which some tender associations connect us, and with which as we are to have most of our dealings, it were best to be on courteous terms. We have been calumniated, they say, it is true, but this has mostly been by illiterate and itinerant pretenders, and if the war of defamation is not to be carried on *ad internecionem*, a stop must somewhere be put to it, and we ought to set the example. This course of remark breathes a spirit, which one must commend, but justifies itself by incorrect assumptions. It is not wholly by illiterate and ignorant itinerants that we are calumniated, but by the highest political and literary authority, in the most respectable journals, and on the floor of parliament. That the calumnies which have received the seal of these grave authorities are derived from ignoble and contemptible sources is true: but it is partly this very thing which constitutes the injury, and makes it necessary to vindicate ourselves from charges, which not only their own grossness but the poor authority from which they are derived have not rendered duly suspicious. Neither does it seem to us correct to accuse Mr. Walsh of having taken an injudicious course, in managing this cause. We by no means agree with the remark, which we often hear in this connexion, that to retaliate is not to refute a charge; and that Mr. Walsh has left our own character undefended, in the zeal with which he has retorted upon the English. In the first place, we suspect that such remarks are usually made by persons, who have not read Mr. Walsh's book themselves, but who have caught up, from conversation or newspaper critiques, an idea that it is filled with nothing but recrimination, and that after having quoted

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the various charges made by British writers on us, or aspersions thrown by them on our character, he does nothing but look into the English history and character for an offset. Now though Mr. Walsh has done this last, in many instances, with singular success, yet his process is by no means so compendious as the objection implies. When the calumny consists in a misstatement of facts, he is diligent in rectifying it, and performing the thankless task of putting those right who, not wholly from want of information, were in the wrong. We cannot but quote, as an uncommonly happy instance of this, the following detection of a calumny too gross, and from a source too low to have deserved an honourable man's notice, but that the Earl Grey and our illustrious brethren of the Edinburgh and the Quarterly Reviews have seen fit to lend it the stamp of their authority.

'But it is not only of flippancy and rancour that we could convict this traveller [Fearon] throughout: in several instances he might be shown to be guilty of deliberate, circumstantial falsehood. I will select one which may represent his whole book, and in which the Quarterly Review is implicated. In his report from Philadelphia, dated October 12, 1817, he writes thus:—

"Seeing the following advertisement in the newspapers, put in by the captain and owners of the vessel referred to, I visited the ship, in company with a bootmaker of this city.

'"The passengers on board the brig Bubona, from Amsterdam, 'and who are willing to engage themselves for a limited time, to 'defray the expenses of their passage, consist of, &c. Apply 'on board of the Bubona, opposite Callowhill street, in the river 'Delaware, or to W. Odlin & Co. No. 38, South Wharves.'

"As we ascended the side of this hulk, a most revolting scene of want and misery presented itself. The eye involuntarily turned for some relief from the horrible picture of human suffering, which this living sepulchre afforded. Mr. ——— inquired if there were any shoemakers on board. The captain advanced: his appearance bespoke his office; he is an American, tall, determined, and with an eye that flashes with Algerine cruelty. He called in the Dutch language for shoemakers, and never can I forget the scene that followed. The poor fellows came running up with unspeakable delight, no doubt anticipating a relief from their loathsome dungeon. Their clothes, if rags deserve that denomination, actually perfumed the air. Some were without shirts, others had this article of dress, but of a quality as coarse as the worst packing cloth. I inquired of several if they could speak

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English. They smiled. and gabbled, 'No Engly, no Engly,—one Engly talk ship.' The deck was filthy. The cooking, washing, and necessary department, were close together. Such is the mercenary barbarity of the Americans who are engaged in this trade, that they crammed into one of those vessels 500 passengers, 80 of whom died on the passage."

'This account is quoted with evident satisfaction, in the Quarterly Review, for May, 1819, and the reviewer adds from himself —"The infamous traffic is confined exclusively to American vessels."

'I have thought it worth while to ascertain the facts of the case, and they are as follows:—The brig Bubona in question was a British vessel, from Sunderland, in England; she was British property, and navigated on British account; her crew was British, and her captain an *Englishman*, by the name of William Garterell. On arriving in the port of Philadelphia, he selected as his factors, the Messrs. Odlin and Co. merchants of that city, whom Fearon falsely represents as the owners of the vessel. The captain was not "tall," but about the middle size, or rather below it, and his countenance had an open, agreeable expression. What is more: of the vessels that entered the port of Philadelphia in the years 1816 and 1817, laden with redemptioners from the continent of Europe, the greater number was foreign; these amounted to ten, of which five were British in British employment; namely, the brig Bubona, above mentioned, the ship Zenophon, captain Goodwin; the brig Constantia, captain Janson; the brig William, captain Arrowsmith, and brig William, captain Danton.* The condition of the redemptioners on board the British vessels was no better than in the others of whatever nation engaged in the "infamous traffic."

'I derive these particulars from unquestionable sources,—the Mr. Woodbridge Odlin, who transacted the business of the Bubona, and Mr. Andrew Leinau, a respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia, who served as general agent for the foreign redemptioner ships, as they were styled, and who has in his hands official vouchers, which I have examined, of their respective national character, the number of their passengers, &c. It is known, moreover, that as soon as the abuses practised in the trade became notorious, the American Congress passed a law designed to prevent the recurrence of them, and remarkable for the humanity and efficaciousness of its precautions.

* The other foreign vessels (Prussian and Hanseatic) were, ship Vrow Catharina, captain John Van Dyle; brig Bonifacias, captain Leitman; brig Concordia, captain Diedricksen; ship Vrow Elizabeth, captain Blankman, &c.

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'If Fearon really visited the Bubona, which may be doubted, he, an Englishman, could not have mistaken her national character, nor that of the captain. This "tall American, with an eye flashing Algerine cruelty," is a phantasm manifestly intended to heighten the injurious effect of the whole malignant fiction. So the use of the present tense by the Quarterly Reviewers, in their unwarrantable assertion, argues the design of giving it to be understood, that the trade is still carried on by American vessels, with the same abuses as existed before the passage of the preventive law.' pp. xxvii—xxix.

Now will any one say that it is unchristian, or undignified, or promotive of a bad spirit, to make such a refutation of such a calumny? Do not the journals, which copy and retail this poor slander, this profligate circumstantial falsehood, do not public and formal compliments from such characters as Lord Grey, who tells you that the author of such fabrications is '*a gentleman*, whose book is full of the most valuable information, and is distinguished by the marks not only of an inquiring observing and intelligent mind, but of the greatest *fairness* and impartiality,' do not these vouchers make it worth while to refute the calumnies, to which they give their sanction? To deny this, seems to us to be carrying the blessed doctrine of peace-making to a somewhat generous extent.

Having had occasion to allude to Lord Grey, and the generous patronage which he lavishes on a client, likely, we fear, in the end to do his lordship's discernment and knowledge of character but small credit, we add that his lordship, on an occasion when it most behoved him to be correct, has fallen into an error on the subject of the American political organization, which an English peer of the first political reputation might have avoided, at least when descanting voluntarily on the topic. He evidently confounds the state politics of Pennsylvania, with the national politics of America; and applies the information which he derived from Fearon, relative to the intrigues at Harrisburgh, to show 'the operation of their [the Americans] laws, and of this boasted constitution.' This ignorance indeed is not without the countenance of good company. The Edinburgh reviewers tell us that 'they know (they really know) that the leaders of the democratic party, who now predominate in their *caucus*, or committee at Washington, do, in effect, nominate to all the important offices of North America!' Mr. Bentham, who

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magnanimously proposed to reorganize our legal systems, and to write us a code of law, talks of 'the President of Congress;' a phraseology which was correct 40 years ago, before the formation of the constitution, and which now is as apt a designation, as 'king of the British Parliament' would be in England. Nay to afford, once for all, a broad ministerial precedent to any degree of ignorance, and grossness of blundering on the subject of America, Lord North, while sending out his fleets and armies to America, and unknitting the bands of the British empire, talks of *the Island of Virginia.*

The mistake, to which we have alluded of Lord Grey and the Edinburgh Review, viz. of confounding the national and state politics of America, is in fact almost universal abroad. We have never yet seen any discussion of American affairs in Europe, or any attempt to speak definitely of the nature of our political constitutions, which evinced an accurate acquaintance with this fundamental part, this essential feature of our organization, the distinction and limitation of the national and state sovereignties respectively. The European writers, as far as we have had opportunities of informing ourselves, have invariably ascribed too much, either to the national sovereignty on one side, or the state sovereignty on the other. In attempting to compare our confederacy to the Grecian councils and leagues, or to the Germanic body, to none of which has it any further resemblance than the mere name Confederacy carries, they have undervalued that sovereign undivided power, which the people of America have deputed to the national government, in its executive, legislative, and judicial departments. As in the case just quoted of Mr. Bentham, they have not gotten beyond the idea of the old anti-constitutional confederacy. And it is such a confederacy of sovereign and independent states, which the Grecian and the German analogies, just alluded to, lead one to expect. With this idea of our union, the foreign critics and politicians stop; often enough, no doubt, finding countenance for their error, in the loose and fantastical notions of the limits of the national sovereignty, which abound in some parts even of our country. All the foreign civilians, whose judgments on this subject have come to our notice, and we lament to be obliged to add too many Americans to them, as partakers of the same gross misconception of the theory of our government, have spoken of the national

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union as a confederacy of the several states; such it is not and was not meant to be, and the constitution opens with a formal refutation of this error. '*We*, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, do ordain and establish this constitution, for the United States of America.' It is with this express annunciation of the constitution, not as the act of the confederated states, but *of the people* of America, that the charter of our country opens; and the representation of each state by two members in the senate is the only feature in our political organization, on which to ground for a moment the idea of a compact between the states. It would lead us too far from our present purpose, to inquire into the consistency of such an equal senatorial representation, with the idea of an union, not of the states, but of the people. It is sufficient to say here, that had the union been an union of the states, and not of the people, then not only in the senate, but in the house of representatives, and in the choice of president, the small states should have had an equal voice with the large states, being equally sovereign and independent states; self-existent communities, clothed, in every respect, with the same sovereign power. And as in the community, the poor man has a voice as well as the rich man, and the one is not disparaged by his indigence, nor the other advantaged by his wealth, but each placed on the same level, in the exercise and enjoyment of political privileges; so in a union of the states, *as states*, each of these separate and independent communities would have had an equal voice, in all the departments of government; and this of right. For Virginia or New York is not the more a sovereign and independent state for their millions, nor Rhode Island or Delaware the less a state, for their 60 or 70 thousands. That, therefore, is in no sense a union of the states, in which the states wave all the privilege which they possess as states, and nothing is regarded but the rights of their inhabitants, as individual citizens of the American community. We have been at the more pains to explain this point, because the greatest danger, which our union has to fear, will spring from misconceptions on this head; and from an idea that as the union is a confederacy of the states, the state interests may be conceived of as separate from those of the union.

But with regard to the ignorance on American politics, which prevails abroad, we observed that those who do not

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overrate the national sovereignty, are apt to run into the opposite error, and overrate the state sovereignty. This leads to important misconceptions and gross practical misrepresentations, as when in that outlaw article in the Quarterly Review, an affirmation is made of the judiciary of the United States, which is true only of the judiciaries of some of the single states of the country, viz. that the judges are chosen annually. The states, it is true, are sovereign and independent communities, within certain limits, and for certain purposes; principally those of interior and domestic arrangement and government, and for most of what the continental civilians call *administration*. Within this limit, they are sovereign. They have not a collateral, secondary, or initiative jurisdiction, not an advisory or intermediate one, but an original, ultimate, and exclusive jurisdiction, which they have a right to seal with the blood of any who contravenes it. But the same American people, which has constituted the respective state governments and clothed them with these powers, has constituted another national government, with powers not ultimate over the initiative powers of the state, and not deciding powers over consulting ones in the state. The national government is not by the side of the state governments, nor in their centre; nor yet is it subject to them, nor yet above them. It is different, separate, peculiar; constituted for objects, which it is no part of the business of the state governments to pursue, and void of power over those objects with which the state governments are entrusted. The national government, the majesty of this empire, the authority of Congress, the executive arm, with all the American fleets and armies at its disposal, is weak and motionless in respect to questions of state government. It cannot touch these questions; it cannot try to touch them. With respect to them, the national government does not exist. But in regard to the province of the national government, and on the questions whose decision is entrusted by the American people to that government, here on the other hand, the state sovereignties, in their turn, are weak, are motionless, are mute; they sink into the dust, they do not exist. They do not thus lose any power, for they never had any for these purposes. The same American people which constituted the state sovereignties, constituted the national sovereignty to effect objects, which they did not choose to confide to the states, in any form, or under any

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qualification. This is the theory of our national and state governments. It is no metaphysical theory, no plan on paper, spun out of verbal criticism on the terms of the written constitution; but it is the theory, which every day is exemplifying by ten thousand examples, in our national and state governments, throughout the union. There is no perplexity in this delicate, this grand complication of high sovereign powers, over millions of men, thus curiously discriminated. Our lives and our property are safe, under the wing of the states; our foreign relations and national interests are administered without confusion of rival sovereignties, by the national government. The national government is relieved of the most oppressive and odious part of governing, the local, interior, and detailed administration. The states are spared that bitter cup of oppression, which comes down from the throne in all other countries, in the hands of prefects, governors, and judges, 'that know not Joseph,' and care not for the people, over which they are sent to rule. Now to think of comparing this beautiful organization of government with any thing, that has been carried into operation in ancient or modern Europe, is solemn trifling with the judgments of men. If we are asked what remedy we have, seeing that the state sovereignty and the national sovereignty, though not clothed with powers referring to each other, either as co-ordinate, subaltern, or ultimate, yet being both moral and political persons, and therefore liable to be brought into collision with each other, through the weakness of humanity, what remedy we have for a case like this, we reply, that we have the Supreme Court of the United States, to judge in all controversies between the states, or a state and the nation. If it be still inquired, what political check we have over the independence and impartiality of this court, in deciding such high national controversies, we answer, first in general the personal responsibility of the president created by the people, and likely therefore to look to their interests in the appointment of judges; and then for each particular case, the liability of the judges to be impeached before a body returning every six years, in three biennial classes, to the bosom of the people, that elected them. Of this theory of our government, which, if only as a beautiful work of art, if it were but another Eutopian romance, were richly worth the study of every one who pretends to the name of a politician, of this theory

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of our government, though in full practical, genuine, effective operation, we have never yet been able to convince ourselves that the statesmen of Europe, no, not those who are called to administer the greatest national and public interests, in relation to us, or in conjunction with us, have any thing more than some general and indefinite notions, such as the mere sound of the terms carries with them, without the least insight into the genius and real character of our institutions.

But to return to the topic which we were discussing, we are quite unable to comprehend why the duty of forbearance is to begin with us. At whatever point of our history you choose to begin, whether at the expulsion of the puritans from England, at the oppression of the early settlers, at the revolutionary war, or since the peace of 1814, English princes, ministers, and authors, have ever been the assailants, and we apprehend it to be quite fair that we should meet their charges. Let them, when we have done this, see to the duty of putting a stop to the war of recrimination. Moreover, England stands, or claims to stand, on the vantage-ground. She is the old, the powerful, the rich, the wise, and the polite combatant; and we, she will have it, are not only young, but weak, poor, ignorant, and barbarous. Is it then for us, who it seems have so little to lose, to acquiesce patiently in the plunder of that little? The duty of forbearance, of listening without reply, and of leaving it to calumny to refute itself, does *not belong to us. It is not only lawful for us, but it is our* bounden duty to repel it; and we should deserve the abuse which has been heaped upon us, were we so insensible to the value of national reputation as to leave it unrefuted, and, where occasion offers, unreturned. We therefore hold, that Mr. Walsh is not to be censured, even where he confines himself most exclusively to recrimination. Those who have found fault with this course appear to us to have mistaken the object for which America has been slandered, and the general train of the reasoning, with which Mr. Walsh has conducted, as we think with high ability and gratifying success, the cause of national defence. Our country is charged with this and that stain, vice, imperfection, and blot, not as if the charge were to rest there, and when we had been judged by the tribunal of the world's opinion, we were to be acquitted, or sentenced to a penalty, by which the old score would be wiped off, and we should start again in the world. The

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calumnies heaped upon us are intended to lead to *an inference*, often to an immediate practical inference, viz. that this America is not a fit country to emigrate to, nor a safe place in which to venture your life, property, and your children's morals. And when no such specific and immediate consequence is drawn from the various direct and indirect, compendious and detailed attacks on us and our character, there is always intended the general inference that America, in consequence of these opprobrious premises, is an inferior, unworthy country, not fit to enter on equal terms, and with unblemished character, into the intercourse of the nations. Now if we can take a recognized example of a nation that stands, not only on an equality, but, in her own opinion, on a high vantage-ground among the nations, and can match in her condition, character, or history, the very imperfections charged on us; still more, if this nation should happen to be the very one which has busied herself in vilifying us, then we have proved by her own confession, that even allowing the charges to be true, the disparaging consequence against us which she draws from them is unjust: then we have proved by her own confession, that we may be virtuous and free in despite of all which her travellers have found or invented, and her critics copied and reasoned to our discredit. We say that Mr. Walsh does not confine himself within the limits which this course of reasoning indicates; but if he did, he would be borne out by sound logic. Moreover, this course is the more compendious, since it makes it unnecessary to inquire whether the calumnious charges against us are true or not; a task, however, as we have already stated, which Mr. Walsh does not spare himself. His purpose in general is expressed in the following sentence from the preface.

'My purpose in this undertaking generally, is not merely to assert the merits of this calumniated country; I wish to repel actively, and, if possible, to arrest, the war which is waged without stint or intermission, upon our national reputation. This, it now appears to me, cannot be done without combating on the offensive; without making inroads into the quarters of the restless enemy.'

It would not be necessary, did our limits permit us, to follow Mr. Walsh through the whole of his work, or examine with what success each particular part of it is executed.

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Having already passed through two editions in this country and one in England, it will be more than sufficient to offer our readers a brief analysis of the plan pursued, with a few remarks on one or two of the more prominent topics.

In a preface, intended not so much to serve as an introduction to the work as a sample of it, and to prepare the mind of the reader as well for the nature of the warfare which has been waged upon us, as for the manner in which Mr. Walsh repels it, a few striking, and we may add, unpardonable instances of British calumny are cited and commented upon. Of these we have already extracted what relates to one. The scandalous epilogue to a play of Terence, spoken at Westminster school, is another; a third discloses itself in the course taken by the opposition in parliament relative to the Seminole war and the conduct of General Jackson; and a fourth is a most preposterous and quixotic assault, which an honest gentleman of the name of Moore, member, ye must know, of the Royal College of Surgery, has seen fit to make on the literary, scientific and moral character of the United States, in—'the history and practice of vaccination.' These are well chosen examples; for they show that it is not enough for vulgar itinerants, in the character of travellers, to calumniate us in their journals, nor for politicians to praise or vilify us, as may best serve them in the game of opposition they have to play: but that the public sentiment toward us must be poisoned in its first springs, the youthful mind, and in its most sacred reservoirs, the volumes of scientific and learned research.

The first section of Mr. Walsh's work dwells *on the political and mercantile jealousy* of Great Britain, and shows it to have been contemporaneous with the foundation of the first American settlements. Few, we fear, of this good-natured generation, who will have the duty of forgiving, and overlooking, and conciliating to come first from us, are aware how early this spirit began, and to what lengths it went. We are accustomed to hear with horror of the measures taken to prevent the instruction and education of negro slaves. What shall we say to the following chapter in our colonial history.

'From the same motive, printing presses were denied to the plantations. We are told by Chalmers, that "no printing press was allowed in Virginia;" that "in New England and New York there were assuredly none *permitted*," and that "the other

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provinces probably were not more fortunate."* When Andros was appointed by James II captain general of all the northern colonies, he was instructed "to allow of no printing press." In an official report of Sir William Berkeley, governour of Virginia, dated 20th June, 1671, there is the following characteristic passage:— "I thank God we have no free schools, nor any printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government: God keep us from both." Accordingly every effort was made to shut out the pestilent tree of knowledge On the appointment of Lord Effingham to the government of Virginia, in 1683, he was ordered, agreeably to the prayer of Sir William Berkeley," to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatever."'

The policy which dictated measures like these, went only to keep in ignorance and darkness that portion of America which had been opened and settled. It was another step in the same oriental spirit, which laid it down as a rule that the colonization was to be confined as much as possible to the coast, and the settlement of the interior as far as possible discouraged. That even this age in which we live is not too humane for an idea of the same kind, is fresh in the annals of the negotiations at Ghent, of which Sir James Mackintosh admirably says, 'more barbarous than the Norman tyrants, who afforested great tracts of arable land for their sport, ministers attempted to stipulate that a territory, quite as great as the British islands, should be doomed to an eternal desert. They laboured to prevent millions of freemen and christians from coming into existence. To perpetuate the English authority *in two provinces*, a large part of North America was to be forever a wilderness The American negotiators, by their resistance to so insolent and extravagant a demand, maintained the common cause of civilized men.' Though it be possible to conceive of so hungry a spirit of political aggrandizement, that the British ministry should be willing to secure the Canadian provinces and obstruct the progress of the American power, by drawing this cordon of everlasting desolation along the western frontier; yet who could have been prepared for this benighted policy, when applied to check the growth of their own colonies, their own

* 'Political Annals of the United Colonies, chap. 15.'

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children, their own fellow subjects? Who could have believed that, at the period when the British sovereignty was undisputed in America, and the name of Briton was jealously arrogated to himself by every American, as his title to glory, that even then it should be the assumed and fixed policy of the paternal councils of England, to keep the continent of America, as far as possible, in the savage state, in which they found it?

'To lessen the danger, or obviate new hazards, for her sovereignty and monopoly, England embraced the policy, of confining the settlements in North American as much as possible to the sea coast. The great points of preventing the French power from being immoveably established at their back, and over the whole vast interior; of securing the Atlantic provinces not only from this evil, but from their cruel scourge—the Indians; of opening the fruitful and beautiful countries beyond the Apalachian mountains to English cultivation and empire, were all postponed to views, of which it is difficult to say whether they were more selfish or short-sighted. The plan of a colony on the Ohio, for the salutary and noble purposes just enumerated, was conceived in America in the middle of the last century, submitted fruitlessly to the British government in 1768, and offered anew by Dr. Franklin, in 1770, with the engagement on the part of the projectors, to be at the whole expense of establishing and maintaining the civil administration of the country to be settled. A few extracts from the two Reports* of the Board of Trade and Plantations, on the subject, to the lords of the privy council, will explain the favourite system in relation to the plantations.

"The proposition of forming inland colonies in America is, we humbly conceive, entirely new; it adopts principles in respect to American settlements, different from what have hitherto been the policy of this kingdom, and leads to a system which, if pursued through all its consequences, is, in the present state of that country, of the greatest importance.

"And first with regard to the policy, we take leave to remind your lordships of that principle which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his majesty, immediately after the treaty of Paris, viz. the confining the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea coast, as that those settlements should lie *within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*, upon which the strength and riches of it depend; and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction, which

* 'Fourth vol. Franklin's Works, article Ohio Settlement.'

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was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies, in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country; and these we apprehend to have *been two capital objects of his majesty's proclamation* of the 7th of October, 1763, by which his majesty declares it to be his royal will and pleasure, to reserve, under his soverignty, protection, and dominion, for the *use* of the Indians, all the lands not included within the three new governments, the limits of which are described therein, as also all the lands and territorities lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which shall fall into the sea from the west and north-west, and by which all persons are forbid to make any purchases or settlements whatever, or to take possession of any of the lands above reserved, without special license for that purpose.

"The same principles of policy, in reference to settlements at so great a distance from the sea coast as to be out of the reach of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom, continue to exist in their full force and spirit: and though various propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts of America have been, in consequence of this extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government, (particularly in that part of the country wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, with a view to that object,) yet the dangers and disadvantages of complying with such proposals have been so obvious, as to defeat every attempt made for carrying them into execution."' pp. 15, 16.

The second section is entitled *the General Character and Merits of the Colonies*, and contains a proud enumeration of facts and testimonies, which do honour to the memory of our ancestors from the earliest emigration. We counsel those, who are fond of repeating the ribaldry about the descent of the Americans from convicts, to look over this chapter with some care. The pages devoted to a palliation of the religious intolerance, in Massachusetts, have a particular interest for us here, and we cannot forbear to offer our readers a part of what is said by Mr. Walsh, on the subject of the trials and executions for witchcraft.

'I would not hesitate to concede to the author of "the British empire in America," that "the great foible of the New England history is the story of the witches."* But this story has aspects widely different from that under which it is exhibited abroad. Belief in witchcraft was epidemic in the seventeenth century, and could not fail to extend to New England. The insulated situation of her inhabitants, one which presents them, to use their

* 'Preface.'

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own graphic language, as "conflicting with many grievous difficulties and sufferings in the vast howling wilderness, among wild men and wild beasts,"* the austerity of their domestic habits, the solemnity of their religious feelings, the terrific dangers to which they were hourly exposed, their daily intercourse with the Indians, whose conversation was perpetually of demons and necromancers, the new maladies of body resulting from a new and crude climate, the heart sickening recollections of "the pleasant land of their nativity," of which the ravening brood of tyrants would almost be forgotten, as memory recalled its better features, with the enjoyments and ties of their youth, all these influences combined against the force of their reason, and contributed to render irresistible the contagion of the European superstition. The simple example of the mother country might account for their infatuation; and the extent, to which it is chargeable upon that example, may be understood, from the following passage of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. "Not many years before the delusion seized New England, Glanville published his witch stories in England; Perkins and other Nonconformists were earlier; but the great authority was that of Sir Matthew Hale, revered in New England, not only for his knowledge in the law, but for his gravity and piety. The trial of the witches in Suffolk was published in 1684. All these books were in New England, and the conformity between the behaviour of Goodwin's children and most of the supposed bewitched at Salem, and the behaviour of those in England, is so exact as to leave no room to doubt the stories had been read by the New England persons themselves, or had been told to them by others who had read them. Indeed, this conformity, instead of giving suspicion, was urged in confirmation of the truth of both; the Old England demons and the New being so much alike. The court justified themselves from books of law, and the authorities of Keble, Dalton, and other lawyers, then of the first character, who laid down rules of conviction as absurd and dangerous as any which were practised in New England."†

'All ranks in Scotland and England concurred in raising a complete demonocracy for those countries, throughout the seventeenth century. Lord Kaimes asserts, in his Sketches of the History of Man, that during the civil wars every one believed in magic, charms, spells, sorcery, and witchcraft. An incident related by Evelyn, for which no parallel is to be found in American history, shows the temper of the times in England. "29th March, 1652—was that celebrated eclipse of the sun, so much threatened by

* 'Petition of the General Court of Massachusetts to the king. (1680.)'

† 'Vol. ii. chap. 1.'

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the astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarmed the whole nation, that hardly any one would work or stir out of their houses, so ridiculously were they abused by knavish and ignorant star-gazers." The Long parliament, alias "the great reformation parliament," issued several commissions "to discover and prosecute witches," and upon those commissions were many unfortunate persons, of both sexes, tried and executed. We should not forget the testimony of Hume, with respect to the state of Scotland, at the period in question. "The fanaticism which prevailed, acquired, besides the malignants and engagers, a new object of abhorrence. These were the sorcerers. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates, through all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwick, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire, and it became a science every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms."*

'For thirty years after the settlement of Massachusetts, while victims were daily sacrificed by fire and the rope, in Great Britain, none suffered for witchcraft in that colony. Hutchinson asserts truly, that "more were put to death in a single county of England for that cause, than suffered in New England from the planting until his time, in 1760."† The phrenzy endured in America but seven months; whereas it may be said to have continued with little or no abatement, in the mother country, in Scotland particularly, for a long series of years. If Cotton Mather partook of the wretched delusion, he was at least as excusable as Sir Matthew Hale; and we may doubt whether there was any learned judge of New England, cotemporary with chief justice Blackstone, who would have gravely summed up the evidence respecting the reality of witchcraft, and as gravely decided it to be "most eligible to conclude, that, in general, such a thing as witchcraft had been."‡ North America, of the eighteenth century, can furnish no counterpart for the story of the Cocklane ghost. Hutchinson has, on this subject, some observations in addition to those I have quoted from him, which ought not to be withheld. "The trial of Richard Hatheway, the imposter, before lord chief justice Holt, was ten or twelve years after the trials in New England. This was a great discouragement to prosecutions in England for witchcraft, but an effectual stop was not put to them until the act of parliament in the reign of his late majesty,

* 'Chapter 59.' † 'Hist. of Mass. vol. ii. chap. i.'

‡ 'Commentaries, b. iv. c. iv. "Witchcraft or sorcery is a truth to which every nation in the world, hath, in its turn, borne testimony, by either examples seemingly well attested, or prohibitory laws, which at least suppose the possibility of a commerce with evil spirits."

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George II. Even this did not wholly cure the common people, and we hear of old women ducked and cruelly murdered within these last twenty years. Reproach, then, for hanging witches, although it has been often cast upon the people of New England by those of Old, yet it must have been done with an ill grace."' pp. 52—55.

The third section treats *of the difficulties surmounted by the Colonists*, and proves how vain and false as well as injurious, was the querulous language held toward them from an early period, as if they had enjoyed an unusual measure of aid and protection from the parent government. We cannot withhold the following specimen of the protection and aid vouchsafed them.

'The courageous loyalty of Virginia, although acknowledged and applauded on the restoration, turned still less to her advantage than the republicanism of New England. A scheme of restriction and a train of measures, more prejudicial and galling than those of Cromwell, were pursued by Charles II and his successor, towards those who boasted with truth, "that they were the last of the King's subjects who renounced, and the first who resumed their allegiance." "With the restoration," says Chalmers, "began a series of evils which long afflicted, and well nigh ruined the plantation of Virginia." One of these evils was, the distribution among certain favourite adherents of Charles II in England, of a large portion of the soil, including cultivated estates, held by every right which could vest indefeasible property. "Virginia," says the writer whom I have just quoted, "beheld the Northern Neck, containing one half of the whole, given away to strangers, who had shared neither the danger nor expenses of the original settlement."*

'A spoliation no less iniquitous was attempted, and partly accomplished by Andros, in 1688, in New England. There, on the lawless abolition of all the charters, a declaration followed, that the titles of the colonists to their lands had become void in consequence. By this monstrous fiction of tyranny, the oldest proprietors were summoned to take out, at a heavy cost, new patents for estates acquired by purchase from the Indians; possessed for near sixty years; defended against the inroads of a barbarous enemy, at the hazard of life, and improved with incessant toil and immense expense. Hutchinson remarks,† that according to the computation then made, all the personal estate of Massachusetts would not have paid the charge of the new patents required in

* 'Annals, ch. iv.' † 'Vol. i. ch. iii.'

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that colony. A scheme of despotism and rapine so exorbitant, could not be long prosecuted with a people that had made such sacrifices for freedom, and had lost nothing of their pristine fervor. It was quickly terminated by the popular insurrection at Boston, already noticed, which deposed all its abettors, and extinguished the government of James in New England. What is called the rebellion of Bacon, in the annals of Virginia, sprung from grievances of equal injustice, and wanted, I am inclined to think, nothing but ultimate success, to make it, in the estimation of all, equally noble with the bold and characteristic movement of Massachusetts.'* p. 78.

The fourth section relates *the Military efforts of the Colonies*, and the ungrateful return made by Great Britain, and yields perhaps in interest to no portion of the volume. Mr. Walsh has here collected, with great diligence, very curious details relative to the military expeditions, in which the colonies took a part, and to the manner in which their services were acknowledged by the mother country. By way of recapitulation, at the end of the section, are given some highly interesting extracts from a speech in parliament of David Hartley in 1775. We regret that we can make but one quotation from his remarks.

'"Whenever Great Britain has declared war, they have taken their part. They were engaged in king William's wars, and queen Anne's, even in their infancy. They conquered Acadia in the last century, for us; and we then gave it up. Again, in queen Anne's war, they conquered Nova Scotia, which, from that time, has always belonged to Great Britain. They have been engaged in more than one expedition to Canada, ever foremost to partake of honour and danger with the mother country.

"Well, Sir, what have we done for them? Have we conquered the country for them from the Indians? Have we cleared it? Have we drained it? Have we made it habitable? What have we done for them? I believe, precisely nothing at all, but just keeping watch and ward over their trade, that they should receive nothing but from ourselves, at our own price. I will not positively say that we have spent nothing; though I don't recollect any such article upon our journals: but I mean any material expense in setting them out as colonists. The royal military government of Nova Scotia cost, indeed, not a little sum; above $500,000 for its plantation, and its first years. Had your other

* 'This opinion is fully sustained by Burk's narrative of Bacon's rebellion.—See vol. ii. ch. iv. History of Virginia.'

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colonies cost any thing similar either in their outset or support, there would have been something to say on that side; but, instead of that, they have been left to themselves for one hundred or one hundred and fifty years, upon the fortune and capital of private adventurers, to encounter every difficulty and danger. What towns have we built for them? What desert have we cleared? What country have we conquered for them from the Indians? Name the officers—name the troops—the expeditions—their dates. Where are they to be found? Not in the journals of this kingdom They are no where to be found.

"In all the wars which have been common to us and them, they have taken their full share. But in all their own dangers, in the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, in all the Indian wars which did not immediately concern us, we left them to themselves to struggle their way through. For the whim of a minister, you can bestow half a million to build a town, and to plant a royal colony of Nova Scotia; a greater sum than you have bestowed upon every other colony together.

"And notwithstanding all these, which are the real facts, now that they have struggled through their difficulties, and begin to hold up their heads, and to show that empire which promises to be the foremost in the world, we claim them and theirs, as implicitly belonging to us, without any consideration of their own rights. We charge them with ingratitude, without the least regard to truth, just as if this kingdom had, for a century and a half, attended to no other object; as if all our revenue, all our power, all our thought had been bestowed upon them, and all our national debt had been contracted in the Indian wars of America; totally forgetting the subordination in commerce and manufactures, in which we have bound them, and for which, at least, we owe them help towards their protection."' pp. 138, 139.

The fifth section is upon the *commercial obligations of Great Britian* to America, and gives an imposing view of the nourishment, which the commerce and manufactures of England have, from the earliest period, derived from her connexion with this country; a view the less obnoxious to exception as being founded on numerical statements and results. One is surprised to observe how early the beneficial operation of this connexion began. No later than 1665, Sir Josiah Child thus writes.

"'England has constantly improved in people, since our settlement upon the plantations in America. We are very great gainers by the direct trade of New with Old England. Our yearly

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exportations of English manufactures, malt and other goods from hence thither, amounting in my opinion, to ten times the value of what is imported from thence, which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature consideration, and peradventure upon as much experience in this trade, as any other person will pretend to." '*

That what was thus true, at the earliest period of our colonial history, continued to be so during the interval that elapsed before the revolutionary war, there is abundant evidence contained in the statements, which the debates on that war drew out in the English parliament, particularly from Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke; and that the benefits reaped by Great Britain from her intercourse with us, since our independence, have, instead of decreasing, been augmented in an almost unimagined ratio in consequence of that separation, 'at least as injurious to America as to England,' may be admitted on the following unsuspicious authority.

'A distinguished member of the British parliament, Mr. Alexander Baring, examined fully in 1808, with the advantages of practical knowledge and much general commercial learning, the question of her increased utility, and pronounced that, upon the whole, she had, in her independent situation, to a greater degree than could have been expected from any other, been the means of augmenting the British resources, in the war with the continental powers—that she contributed in the highest degree possible, all the benefits which one nation could derive from the existence of another, or that a mother country could receive from that of the best regulated colony.† The same inquirer ascertained, that three fourths of the money proceeding from the consumption of the produce of the soil of America, in all parts of the world were paid to Great Britain for her manufactures. He developed other benefits, the reality of which did not admit of dispute, and found it unpardonable "that his countrymen should entertain a jealousy of the prosperity and wealth American independence had produced, which not only served to circulate the produce of their industry, where they could not carry it themselves, but by increasing the means of America, augmented in the same proportion her consumption of that produce, at a time when the loss of their former customers, by the persecutions of France, rendered it most valuable."' p. 162.

* 'Discourse on Trade, chap. x.'
† 'Examination of the Orders in Council, &c.'

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These sentiments do honour to the distinguished person, who expressed them. In return, we are fully willing to own, that this connexion between England and America, which has been so profitable to her, has been equally so to us. Had it not been so to us, it could not of course have continued and increased. Nothing but our own unexampled prosperity, of which the trade with England has certainly not been one of the least of the immediate causes, could have enabled us to pay to that country the tribute of such an enormous commerce of consumption. Our own commercial operations have of course been constantly facilitated and extended by the credit obtained of the English merchant and manufacturer, and the intercourse of the nations has been, as we would ever have it, highly advantageous to both.

An account is given in the sixth section of *the relative dispositions of Great Britain and America*, from the peace of 1763. In this section the sentiments felt and avowed and the measures proposed and attempted, in that heyday of British madness, the period which immediately preceded our revolution and the period of the revolution itself. are passed in brief review. The character of the British ministry, at the breaking out of the war, is thus portrayed by a pencil, that carries with it equal authority and power.

'Lord Chatham, in concluding the defence of his plan of Conciliation at the sitting of the Lords of the 1st of February, 1775, apostrophized the ministers of the day thus:

"Yet when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished; I am not surprised that men who hate liberty should detest those that prize it; or that those who want virtue themselves, should endeavour to persecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to carry this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonstrate that the whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests; in that view, you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well know if the present measure (of reconciliation with the colonies) should prevail, that you must instantly lose your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms: but sure I am, that such are your well known characters and abilities, any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your

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hands. Such, then, being your precarious situation, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance, for which God and nature designed you."' pp. 181, 182.

Mr. Walsh produces some authority for believing, if indeed the proposition required any authority, that the sentiments of those in England, who espoused the cause of pacification at the end of the war, did no great credit to their generosity. Nor is there wanting testimony from the most competent English sources, that the exasperations of the original dismemberment have existed in Great Britain to the present day.

The seventh and eighth sections of Mr. Walsh's work treat of *the hostilities of the British reviews.* This is one of the most fruitful topics in the controversy, and one that might furnish the most ample occasion to our own remarks, did our limits permit. We are not without hopes of being able to offer our readers some remarks on several of the subjects discussed in these sections, on a future occasion. It would be impossible to give our readers an adequate idea of the contents of these sections, by any process short of a minute analysis. We would therefore refer them directly to the sections themselves, as in a high degree curious and instructive.

On one point, of very favourite recurrence in the English journals, viz. the state of the English language in America, we beg leave to trouble the reader, with the fruit of our own poor speculations. If there be any one fact, which forces itself upon the observation of an American in travelling in England, it is this, that in *every* part of the interior of that country, the language is far worse spoken, than in *any* part of America. We speak now of the illiterate and poorly educated portion of the community, in each country ; and we submit it fearlessly to any person, who has had the means of making the comparison, and is at all qualified to do it, whether one might not rather suppose that America were the native country of the language, and England a remote colony, exposed to all the chances of corruption, so villanously is the language spoken in all the provinces of the latter country, so wholly distorted in a score of rustic jargons, that do not deserve the name of dialects. What, for instance, shall be said of English, of a sort like the following.

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'Away I sleenged; to Grandy meade my mean;
My Grandy (God be wud her now she's geane)
Skilfu' the gushen bluid wi' cockwebs staid,
Then on the sair a healen plaister laid.
The healen plaister eased the painful sair,
The arr indeed remains, but neathing mair.'

Specimen of the Cumberland dialect at the end of West's Guide to the Lakes.

Now this, so far from being an exaggerated specimen, is, we assure our readers, quite softened down and polished from the jargon, actually heard in Cumberland or Westmoreland. And in what benighted corner of America, on what savage frontier, where civilized and barbarous life are shaded into each other, will you meet with English so corrupt, as that which is spoken by the peasantry in Somersetshire or Yorkshire? But it will be perhaps insinuated, that it is of the language of books, the language of the educated part of the community, that English critics mean to speak, when they assert the degeneracy of the language in America. Here, too, an equal injustice is done us. In the first place, it might, without any stretch of charity, be taken for granted, that the language is spoken in America as in England, because we reprint ten English books to one original American one, and however corrupt the latter might be, it could not be supposed that the small alloy, thus thrown into the language, would materially debase the whole mass of pure English, kept constantly current, by the unlimited circulation of English books. Our ancestors were, a great portion of them, well educated men, and must have brought with them the language, as it existed in England among the educated classes in their day. Since their emigration, a period of one or two hundred years, the English language has been going through a constant series of changes, among all who speak it. That every one of these changes, which may have taken place in England, should have found its way across the Atlantic since the active tide of emigration has ceased to flow, and been incorporated into the original stock of the language as our fathers brought it with them, is not to be expected. And that any of the changes, which time may have made in the language among us, from the operation of the same causes, and in the lapse of the same period, should find their way to England, and be knowingly owned by our brethren there, no one could flatter himself would ever happen. But that every innovation,

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which has taken place since the time of Shakspeare or of Milton in the English language, in England, should be recognized as of authority, and every change which has taken place in the language in America, in the same interval, should be stigmatized as a corruption, we see no good reason in philology or common sense; it appears to us mere arrogant pedantry. A very faithful collection of supposed Americanisms has been given to the public, in the Vocabulary of Mr. Pickering. We have examined that work carefully, and find that a considerable portion of the pretended Americanisms are unjustly so called, being English words used in English acceptations. Another considerable portion are provincial words, brought no doubt from the provinces by the emigrants. A small portion are English words, in new senses, and a still smaller new words. Now we challenge any critic, who shall still maintain the corruption of the English language in America, to assume whatever standard he may choose of the English, the standard of dictionaries, or of good writers, or of good company; and whatever standard be taken, we engage to detect in English writers of respectable standing, and in respectable English society, more provincialisms, more good words in false acceptations, and more newly coined words, than can be found in an equal number of American writers, or in American society, of the same relative respectability. We think we should begin such a comparison with the number of the Edinburgh Review for March 1817, which formerly fell into our hands, while these ideas were occurring to us. For in the *first article* of that number we fell upon forty-six words not authorized by the standards of our language. The English language corrupted in America! What are the Columbiads, or Webster's Dictionaries, or any other name of American innovation, compared with the lucubrations of Jeremy Bentham! We cannot here forbear to present our readers with a passage from a *jeu d'esprit*, which has fallen in our way, under the name of 'Report of Resolutions to be proposed in the House of Representatives.' These proposed resolutions are intended to return the compliment paid to us by the Marquis of Lansdowne, in the session of 1819, in moving for an inquiry into the conduct of Gen. Jackson. In order to show that we are as willing to aid our brethren, in the British Parliament, in inquiring into their affairs, as they to aid our representatives, in inquiring into ours, these proposed resolutions go

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over most of the points in the British policy and condition, which appear to us here to need a little revision. That, to which we now allude, is as follows :

' Whereas the House of Representatives, in common with the people of America, is justly proud of its admirable native tongue, and regards this most expressive and energetic language as one of the best of its birth-rights, Resolved that the House acknowledge with gratitude the zeal, which several respectable writers and critics in England have shown for the preservation of the purity of the language in America ; and, although these writers and critics, misled by the reports of illiterate English travellers, whose breeding and education confined them to the society of the more ignorant part of our community, have indiscriminately stigmatized as Americanisms, words, which may be vulgarisms, or individual or provincial peculiarities, but are in no way adopted at large, by the well educated people of America ; and although the aforesaid critics and writers, being but imperfectly read in the early English writers, the great masters and standards of the language, have also denounced as Americanisms certain other words, such as *to progress, to advocate, &c.* which be, nevertheless, words of approved use and authority in the Augustan age of English literature ; nevertheless, the House is grateful to these writers and critics, for their kind efforts abovementioned, and particularly for the *amiable spirit* and *courteous tone*, in which they have been made : and whereas the House of Representatives of the United States of America will ever feel it a duty to watch, with jealousy, over the preservation of the English tongue, in its original purity, and it is a matter of great interest to the House and to the American people, that their native language should not degenerate in the parent state, and it would afflict the American people to find their brethren in England gradually contracting the habit of a mixed and barbarous jargon ; therefore resolved, that the House of Representatives of the United States of America regard with unfeigned sorrow the continued prevalence of five or six languages or dialects, within the narrow compass of the British isles, as a circumstance which menaces, at no remote period, the radical corruption of the English tongue ; that it is a matter of high astonishment to the House, that no measures have been employed to exterminate the native dialects of the Celtic, still spoken in Cornwall, in Wales, in Ireland, in the Isle of Man, and in Scotland, with the corrupt French in the isles of Jersey and Guernsey ; dialects mutually different from each other, and from the English, and which cannot continue to be spoken, without disastrous consequences to the English language and literature ; that the

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House, moreover, looks with still greater anxiety on the utterly corrupt and barbarous state, to which the English language has already sunk, in most of the counties of England, to the degree that the various dialects which prevail, such as those in Yorkshire, Somersetshire, and Cumberland, at the same time that they are in themselves utterly uncouth and hideous, are unintelligible to any one, but a person born and educated in these counties respectively; and though the House views with more respect the lowland dialect of Scotland, as having been ennobled by the writings of some admirable original authors, particularly in the last and present centuries, yet the House still trembles at the deleterious effect, which this very ennobling of a subordinate and provinical dialect may have on the pure English tongue, and regards it as a symptom of the approaching degeneracy of that tongue, that writings in said provincial dialect are eagerly sought and familiarly read; that the House farther regards, as still more pernicious either than the prevalence of the Cornish, Welsh, Erse, Mankish, or Gaelic, or of the provincial corruptions of the English, that barbarity which from various causes is fast creeping into the language of the highest and best educated classes of society in England, a corruption which, in some respects, the House thinks to have been much promoted by the leading critical journals of the day; an affectation, at one time, of forgotten old words, and at another of pedantic new ones, each equally unauthorized in a pure and chaste style of writing and of speaking; the perpetual recurrence of the plural number, instead of the singular, as *charities*, *sympathies*, *tendencies*, *&c.* a phraseology, which tends in a high degree to weaken a language, by leading writers and speakers to place that emphasis in the grammatical plurality, which ought to reside in the term itself; an unwise attempt to ennoble such words as *clever*, *you know*, *vastly*, *&c.* which are pardonable only in a colloquial use, and unworthy the dignity of grave and sustained discourse; an adoption by noblemen, gentlemen, and clergymen, of the terms of horse-jockeys, boxers, and shooters, to the degree, that a great number of vulgar and cant terms are heard in what are called the best circles, which the House has reason to apprehend are often the worst, in which the human blood, drawn by the clenched fist of a ruffian, is unrighteously called "claret," and shooting two dozen of birds, "bagging 12 pair of cocks;" lastly, an alarming prevalence of profane and obscene language, in the highest and best bred circles, which, though liable to high moral objections, the House is willing to regard here merely as another agent of brutalizing the English tongue, and which, though it is unhappily a vice too common in all countries, the House has unquestioned information, prevails in

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England to an unparalleled and odious extent, reaching into the societies which consider themselves the most polite and best bred. In view of these facts, Resolved, that the House of Representatives of the United States of America is apprehensive, that the genuine purity of the English tongue is already fatally assailed, and is threatened with being wholly destroyed at no remote period; that the possibility of such an event is to be considered by the American people as a just ground of national alarm and apprehension, and that it is their duty to provide, if it may be, against its occurrence: and inasmuch as the circumstances, that this country was at first in general settled by Englishmen of good education, by aggrieved gentlemen and ejected clergymen, and has continued to this day, remarkably free from all those classes of men, which most corrupt a language, such as an accumulation of miners, manufacturers, and beggars, and is blessed, to an extent elsewhere unknown, with the means of popular education, so much so, that in more than one of the American states, it is supposed that there is not a native citizen unable to read and write; inasmuch as from these and other circumstances easy to be deduced from the previous enumeration of some of the causes of the corruption of the language in England, the English language has been preserved in a state of admirable purity, in the United States of America, a purity so great, that in the most remote and unfavoured portions of our country, the popular dialect is far purer than in some counties in the heart of England, while the style of speaking and writing is, by the blessing of God, quite untainted with most of the above mentioned vulgarities prevalent in the high English circles, and but partially infected with any of them: Resolved, therefore, farther, in consideration of these premises, that the nobility and gentry of England be courteously invited to send their elder sons, and such others as may be destined to appear as public speakers in church or state, to America, for their education; that the president of the United States be requested to concert measures with the presidents and heads of our colleges and schools, for the prompt reception and gratuitous instruction of such young persons, and to furnish them, after the expiration of a term of —— years, certificates of their proficiency in the English tongue.' pp. 12—15.

We look upon the above as a fair piece of good natured insolence, quite excusable in the way of retaliation, and fraught, moreover, with a very large portion of truth. But we must hasten to the last great topic of Mr. Walsh's work.

It is well known that one of the most severe attacks, ever made against this country in a respectable quarter, is

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the one contained in an article in the LXI number of the Edinburgh Review, to which article and its supposed author, we alluded at the beginning of our remarks. A few facts will show with what justice America is approached by England, on the score of negro slavery. 1. This disastrous institution was set up in the colonies, under English laws, and for the benefit of English traders. This of course needs no proof. 2. The colonies became early dissatisfied with the existence of negro slavery among them, and made various attempts to prohibit its further introduction by law, attempts uniformly defeated by the British governors acting under express instructions of the English ministry. There are many flagrant instances of this, in the history of several of the colonies, but the following will give our readers, in the shortest compass, the best idea of the state of this part of the controversy.

'In 1772, most of the duties previously imposed [on the importation of slaves into Virginia] were re-enacted, and the Assembly transmitted, at the same time, a petition to the throne, which speaks almost all that could be desired for the confusion of our slanderers. Judge Tucker has made the following extract from it, in his Appendix to the 1st vol. pt. 2, of Blackstone:

"We are encouraged to look up to the throne, and implore your majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature.

"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa *hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its present encouragement,* we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American dominions.

"We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects of Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more *useful inhabitants,* and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope, that the *interest of a few* will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to *remove all those restraints on your majesty's governors of this colony,* which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce."

'The petition proved unavailing. In the first clause of the independent constitution of Virginia, "the inhuman use of the

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royal negative" in this matter is enumerated among the reasons of the separation from the mother country. Mr. Burke, as we have seen in one of the quotations which I have made from his speech on the conciliation with America, recognized her "refusal to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of the negro slaves, as one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain." I must claim permission to connect here with the petition, a statement subjoined to it, by Judge Tucker, which shows that it did not cost the British government a moment's deliberation to sacrifice "the security and happiness of such numbers of his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects," to "the interest of the few" in England. I have lately been favoured with the perusal of a manuscript copy of a letter from Granville Sharp, Esq. of London, to a friend of the prime minister, dated March 25, 1794, in which he speaks of the petition thus: "I myself was desired, by a letter from America, to inquire for an answer to this *extraordinary* Virginia petition. I waited on the Secretary of State, and was informed by himself that the petition *was received*, but that (he apprehended) *no answer would be given.*" pp. 316, 317.

3. Twenty, nay, thirty years, before the abolition of the trade in slaves by England, it was abolished by law in many of the American states, and eighteen years before the English abolition, provision was made in the constitution of the United States for its abolition throughout America, which provision was carried into effect in 1808, the limit prescribed by the constitution. We place but little value on a slender priority of this kind The only true comparison would be of shame, which nation forbore longest. But, in point of fact, England is neither the first nor the second nation, which interdicted this trade. For, besides what we have already asserted of the separate American states, and the provisions in the constitution of the United States, it was abolished by Denmark in 1792, by a law to take effect in 1803. 4. As far as the reproach of holding slaves goes, England is at this moment as deeply involved in it as America; her colonies being all stocked with them. the fruits of their labours regularly sent home to Old England, and their treatment no better, if as good, as in America.

All reproach, therefore, thrown upon us by Englishmen for the toleration of this evil, especially if connected with any complacency on the score of their own supposed comparative purity, is blind arrogance, which will not take counsel of common sense. It would give us heart-felt pleasure to be able

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to stop here; to be able to say, that the evil of slavery was brought on us from a foreign quarter; has been continued among us from the necessity of the case, and the impossibility of being rid of it; and that we have seized every opportunity of arresting its progress, and preparing the way for its gradual extirpation. Till the present session of Congress, we could have said all this with truth. The important measures, which have passed that body, by a bare majority, a majority organized in a manner to throw the responsibility on several of the members personally, and not on their constituents, deprive us of some of the consolations, with which we have hitherto been accustomed to support this stain on our character. Up to this moment, the blame was not, could not fairly be thought ours. We did no more than tolerate the slavery where we found it, and in communities, whose circumstances seemed to render its exclusion impossible. An unanimous vote of the representatives of the slave-holding states, aided by a few votes from the free states, deprives us hereafter of our right to this alleviating reflection. When one looks over the list of the gentlemen who have been willing to take upon themselves to propagate slavery throughout the interior of America, and when one listens to the arguments, with which they justify the measure, it is impossible not to feel deference for many most respectable names on that list, or to deny that some of their arguments are plausible. These concessions, however, are surely no more than will be reciprocated by our southern brethren, who cannot refuse to do justice to the weight of character, as well as of argument, by which this restriction was maintained. If, then, these admissions balance each other, and considerations of policy, right, and constitutionality are allowed to be so equally weighed against each other, that an honest man may hold himself undecided on that score, then we say that the cause itself should have pleaded with a crying voice in its own favour, and that every American should have felt an impulse within him to resist the progress of slavery, which would have revolted at the very name of spreading it through the valley of the Missouri. Had the people of America felt this impulse, the main arguments against the restriction would have lost their force. From the territory herself, which prays to be admitted to the Union, there would have been no voice invoking the idea of the unimpaired sovereignty of a state. The South

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would not have pleaded for the right of furnishing a slave-market with her surplus increase; and none would have sifted the constitution, for the sake of proving the want of power to do that, which all had at heart to do. So that, without denying the justice of any one of the arguments adduced by the enemies of the restriction, we are still authorized to say, that had a due abhorrence of the institution prevailed at Congress, that humane measure would not have been defeated. To maintain that Missouri does claim, and has a right to claim, to hold slaves, and that an ascertained majority of Congress is disposed to sustain her in that claim, is precisely the reproach on our national character, which we would first have wiped off. If Congress could not forbid the progress of slavery, the greater the reproach; and if the constitution itself has no check over its unlimited diffusion through the country, the deeper the shame, and the more disastrous the imperfection.

We have left ourselves no room to say any thing of the literary execution of Mr. Walsh's work. He is not a writer for the first time before the public, nor likely, therefore, to be much the wiser for our criticisms, did we make them. We think his style would gain force by greater simplicity in the structure of his sentences, and by abstaining from the use of learned and unusual words, such as *adumbrate*, *prophylactic* and *paralogy*. For the rest, we have to tender him our thanks, not only for the gratification, but for the instruction he has afforded us. We shall never think the British much in earnest in deriding us, while they bestow the honours of knighthood on their naval captains for such inglorious victories as that of the Shannon over the Chesapeake; nor be much afflicted, though they be in earnest, provided their calumnies produce us many more such volumes as this.

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ART. XIX.—1. *Notizia sul celebre scultore Canova, e sulle sue opere. Nel Giornale Enciclopedico di Napoli, Aprile,* 1807. ——*An account of the celebrated sculptor Canova, and of his works. In the Giornale Enciclopedico of Naples, for April,* 1807.

2. *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova, descritte da Isabella Albrizzi, Nata Teotochi.* Firenze, 1809, 12mo. ——*The works in marble and plaister of Antonio Canova, described by* [*the Countess*] *Isabella Albrizzi.*

THE increasing interest, which is felt among us in the character and merits of this distinguished sculptor, particularly since his execution of a statue of Washington for the capital of North Carolina, has induced us to offer our readers the following account of him. We are indebted for the principal part of it to the journal mentioned at the head of the article; into which again it was extracted from the *Rœmische Studien* of Fernow, a German work, which we have not had an opportunity of seeing.

The art of sculpture had so much declined in Italy among the pupils of Bernini, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, and had confined itself so exclusively to filling the churches with saints, apostles, and mausoleums, and these executed in so bad a taste, that for a space of twenty years preceding Canova, there did not appear at Rome a single specimen of sculpture worth mentioning. Cavaceppi, the only sculptor in this period that enjoyed any reputation, confined himself almost exclusively to restoring ancient statues in the museums of Rome, and in the collection which he formed himself, for the purposes of trade. Winckelmann at length revived among the great of Italy, as well as of foreign countries, the taste for the beautiful models of antiquity. The wretched productions of the day began to be despised, the works that made their appearance from the Academy of St. Luke were no better esteemed, and the blind enthusiasm for Bernini, which had reigned almost a century, appeared at length as cold and languid, as the works that had inspired it. The chefs-d'œuvre of antiquity, restored to their proper estimation by Mengs and Winckelmann, began to purify the public taste of the absurd notions that had corrupted it. The monument of Benedict XIV, by Bracci, is the last effort of the miserable taste which had devoted itself to

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this species of sculpture, in that period of decline which preceded the modern revival.

This overthrow of the dominion of a bad taste was a favourable preparation for a new and purer school. A happy genius was wanted to take advantage of this predisposition, and Canova appeared at the moment, when the public taste was prepared to welcome and admire him.

After the death of Trippel, who acquired notoriety as a sculptor at Rome, at about the same time as Canova, this latter occupied without a rival the first place in the art. Trippel died in 1793, after having constantly struggled against the obstacles opposed to him by fortune. The correctness of his taste, formed in the school of antiquity, justified the highest hopes of his eventual success. His death was a loss to the art, for though Canova might have stood in no need of a rival to keep up his own activity, Trippel would at least have done no injury to that reputation to which Canova established his claim, and without detriment to the latter, would have enriched the age with his productions.

After the first two years, in which Canova, by a great number of admirable works, had established his reputation, not only in Italy, but in foreign countries, an artist from Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen, ventured into the same career of glory, and announced himself by a work, which secured the attention and the wonder, not only of all the connoisseurs, but of the first artist of the day. His Jason will always be a work of first rate reputation. And though the fame of Canova may not have been eclipsed by that of Thorwaldsen and of the other artists, whose talents and activity were called into action by Canova's example, they have at least aspired with no inconsiderable success to share with him the palm of the art.

During the period that Canova remained without competitors, his admirers placed him in the rank of the first artists as well of ancient as modern times. And if the works of this sculptor, by a sweetness and charm peculiar to themselves, gained, in a certain manner. upon the affections of those who saw them, the amiable character of their author contributed not less to confirm these partial feelings. Posterity perhaps will judge more severely of these productions, and the very applause that has been lavished on them may awaken the severity of criticism. Several of the master

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pieces of Canova have been placed by connoisseurs, who affect great sagacity, upon a level with the chefs-d'œuvre of antiquity. His Perseus has been even compared favourably with the Apollo Belvidere, and thought to have rendered not irreparable the loss of that statue to the museum of the Vatican while detained at Paris. The artist himself seemed to encourage this comparison, for when his Perseus was first exposed to exhibition, a bronze copy of the Apollo was seen near it. For several years the group of *Hercules and Lichas* by Canova was exhibited by the side of the reposing Hercules of Glycon. In fact, if the simplicity and freedom of pretension of this artist were not well known, one might think unfavourably of the encouraging of such comparisons, and ascribe that to an undue vanity, which was doubtless done for the gratification of connoisseurs.

The Pope confirmed the applause lavished on the *Perseus* and the *Gladiators*, by purchasing them for the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, which fills the galleries of the Vatican, and in which hitherto nothing had been admitted but the master pieces of antiquity. The Perseus was there placed on the vacant stand of the Apollo. In a decree of the Pope at the same time, entrusting Canova with the care of the relics and monuments of ancient art in the ecclesiastical state, he is called the rival of Phidias and Praxiteles. Such an apotheosis is without example in the case of any modern sculptor, and without reckoning the titles of Chevalier and Marquis successively bestowed on him by the holy father, Canova has enjoyed the highest honours ever accorded to an artist.

We do not undertake to decide whether he will sustain this high place in the estimation of posterity. An equal fame with his is already claimed for Thorwaldsen, by many of the transalpine connoisseurs, and in England one often hears even Chantry put before Canova. That the latter can ever be allowed to stand on a level with those illustrious inventors of antiquity, of whose works his own are but imitations more or less successful, may without much hardihood be called in question.

Antonio Canova was born in 1757 at Possagno, a village in the Venetian state, near Trevigi, and discovered a taste for sculpture at a very early period At the age of 12, he produced a lion *in butter* for the table of Signor Falieri, the lord of the village. This little fact shows that even at this early age the

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lion was his favourite, and helps to explain the success with which he afterwards executed this animal. It is certain that his chisel has produced nothing in that way superior to the lions, which watch at the base of the monument of Clement XIII in the Vatican. This lion in butter caught the attention of the patron of our young artist, who put him in a condition to pursue the career in which he was destined to travel with such glory. At the age of 14 he was placed under an indifferent artist at Bassano. He was here employed for several years in acquiring the command of the chisel and learning to model; but his genius waited for a happier call to unfold itself. At the age of 17, having finished his apprenticeship, he produced an Eurydice of middle size in marble: before this he was sent to *the academy of the fine arts* at Venice, where his talents met with good models, and competent guides to direct him in following them. He gained several prizes at the academy, and the works which he produced up to the age of 23, during which time he was at Venice, began to gain him a reputation and to encourage hopes that have been more than fulfilled. These works are a group of *Apollo and Daphne, the bust* of the doge Paul Renieri, an *Esculapius*, an *Orpheus* intended to match the Eurydice executed at Bassano, a figure in clay ten palms high intended as an exercise in grand forms, and a *Young Hercules* strangling the serpents. These works were all intended as prize efforts. He afterwards produced a statue of Michael Poleni of natural size for the city of Padua, and finished his group of Dedalus and Icarus in Carrara marble at the age of 21. There is in the *attelier* of Canova at Rome a cast in plaister of this group. Dedalus is represented as an old man, presenting in his features all the marks of an advanced age, but with an unpleasant effect. Icarus forms a direct contrast with this figure, and is represented as looking with an insipid and affectionate expression at his father, who is fixing on his wings. This work, now in the possession of the Chevalier Pisani, scarcely indicates the talents of the artist. It produced the artist, nevertheless, a recompense equally honourable to himself and to the magistrates who decreed it. The senate of Venice granted him a pension of 300 ducats a year, and sent him to Rome. Thither he went in the suite of the ambassador Zuliani, who was sent to Rome at the close of the year 1779.

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Canova devoted himself with much zeal to the study of the antique in the first years of his residence at Rome. He executed for his illustrious protector Rezzonico the *Apollo crowning himself with laurel.* This is a statue of moderate merit, but not without an impress of the *beau ideale*, and indicating the transition of the artist from a servile imitation of nature to a selection of her beauties.

The group of *Theseus sitting on the Minotaur* which he has slain, and which has been beautifully engraved by Morghen, is the first work which gained Canova a notoriety at Rome. It was executed in 1783 in Carrara marble, and though the conception of it contains nothing remarkable, the work unites so much variety of excellence as to deserve a place among the most celebrated of the artists.

The celebrated French archaiologist Quatremere de Quincy was at that time at Rome, and encouraged Canova, who was hesitating what path he should take, in the continued study of the ancients. Fortunately for the final success of the artist his views coincided with those of his friend, and he determined to aim at emulating the masters of antiquity; and to form his manner from a union of their severity and simplicity, with a sweetness and tenderness of expression peculiar to himself.

A happy opportunity soon presented itself to him for gaining a reputation of independence and originality. He was entrusted with the execution of the monument erected to the memory of Clement XIV, in the church of *the Apostles.* The artist here found an open field where he was at liberty to follow the guidance of his genius. The monumental sculpture in the churches for a century preceding, had formed itself a peculiar and barbarous style, wholly remote from the pure models of antiquity. The monument of Benedict XIV, in St. Peter's, was the last specimen of this manner. This of Clement XIV, entrusted to Canova, was destined to begin a new era. In the execution of it the artist had to wrestle with all the obstacles presented by his inexperience and the attempt of originality, and though inferior to the riper productions of his chisel, is infinitely superior to every thing which had been executed in the preceding *ecclesiastical* manner. It is placed over the entrance of the sacristy, the real door of the sacristy forming a part of the monument as an intended representation of the portal of a sepulchre. It is in the form of a

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pyramidical group. *Moderation* and *Gentleness* weep over the Sarcophagus of the Pope, who sits in the usual dress, and bestows his benediction.

In the course of the execution of this work, Canova improved himself visibly, and began to conceive with more distinctness the character of the style he was to form for himself. He had already modelled in clay the group of Cupid and Psyche, and was commissioned by an Englishman to execute it in marble. The wars in Italy prevented its being transported to England, and it passed into the possession of Murat. There is perhaps more skill than genuine beauty in the execution of this work. The idea of it is borrowered from a picture preserved from Herculaneum, in which a fawn caresses a reclining nymph. It is a subject more suitable to the pencil than the chisel; the intertwining of the arms and the position of the head are ill adapted to the marble, nor is there any possible point of view in which the expression of the two faces can be seen at once.

Canova has the art in the polish which he gives his works, to produce in the spectator an impression corresponding with the tenderness, which reigns in his subjects. He imparts to the marble the appearance of a soft waxy substance, and when it has received the last polish with the pumice stone, he employs an oily mordent to diminish the dazzling splendor of the whiteness, and produce a colour bordering on yellow. Connoisseurs, who seek in a statue beautiful forms executed with the greatest possibly purity, are not pleased with a mechanical accessory of this kind. But it adds highly to the gratification of the amateur, who is more ready to yield to his enthusiasm, and to judge of the merit of a work, by the gratification which it affords him.—A similar process was made use of by the ancient artists, as may be seen in a beautiful Amazon described by Mr. Quatremere de Quincy, in a memoir on this subject, read to a class of the institute.

The works executed by Canova after his Cupid and Psyche, are the portrait of the young prince *Czartorisky* and a *Venus and Adonis*. The young prince is represented under the character of Cupid, armed with his bows and arrows. There is a great deal of sweet and amiable expression in this figure, though not wholly without awkwardness in the attitude. The same defects may be traced in two copies made of it and sent respectively to Ireland and to England. The

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Venus and Adonis is known only from the description of Quatremere de Quincy and from the model. The work in marble was destroyed by the artist himself, as of a character inclining to the licentious.

Shortly after these works, Canova was commissioned by the prince Rezzonico, to take charge of the monument to be erected by his family to Pope Clement XIII. Within the immense walls of St. Peter, where every thing swells out of common proportions, it is impossible for a monument to secure the attention of the spectator, unless it assume itself these colossal forms.—This of Clement XIII, which was completed in 1792, is wholly in unison with the grandeur of the edifice which it was meant to adorn, and distinguishes itself immediately among all the others in the church, which are executed in the *ecclesiastical* style. On the right of the Sarcophagus a majestic figure of Religion stands erect, holding the cross with her right hand, and her left resting on the tumulus. Her head is adorned with a gilded crown in rays. On the left of the Sarcophagus reclines a Genius, under the form of a youth, with an inverted torch. He rests on the sepulchral urn, and looks upward with a languid expression. On the two sides of the medallion, upon the Sarcophagus, is the inscription, CLEMENTI XIII REZZONICO P. M. FRATRIS FILII. Two *Virtues* seated with averted backs are seen in *relievo: Goodness* with her hands crossed on the breast, and *Hope* with a crown in her right hand and an anchor near. Behind the Sarcophagus is the Pope, in his pontifical habits, kneeling on a cushion. The height of the figure of the Pope is seventeen feet. Beneath the figures of Religion and the Genius, are the lions to which we have already alluded. The whole monument betrays the hand of a master, and notwithstanding several defects, is worthy of his reputation.

After this, Canova produced a *Cupid standing, winged;* a copy of his group of *Cupid and Psyche* with some changes in the dress, for a Russian princess; a *Venus and Adonis,* a monument of the Chevalier *Emo,* and *Psyche* holding a butterfly in her fingers. His works from this time multiply to such a degree, that he is able himself to do nothing more than put the finishing hand to them. And having made himself perfectly familiar with antiquity, by the reading for which he has nevertheless found leisure, whatever deviations his works contain from ancient mythology, history, or art,

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are to be ascribed to his own taste, and not to want of information. The Venus and Adonis is an imitation of the antique in the Vatican, and is in the possession of the Marquis Berio at Naples. The mausoleum of the Chevalier Emo was executed by order of the republic of Venice. Upon a tablet of marble, which represents the waves of the sea, is seen a sloop of war, of the kind invented by the Chevalier Emo, in his expedition against Algiers. The bust of this admiral is placed on a column three feet high, at the base of which the muse of history inscribes the name of Emo, in letters of gold. The Genius of Fame crowns the bust with laurels. This statue was, in the autumn of 1818, lying in cases on the floor of the armory at Venice, having been removed from the spot where it was originally placed. The figure of Psyche holding the butterfly is executed with infinite grace. The idea of it was perhaps suggested by the ancient statue of a child holding a bird, from which Chantry also probably borrowed the same conception, in the portrait of a child of which the model is in his *attelier*. The Psyche of Canova belonged, in 1806, to the count Mangili of Venice.

Hitherto Canova had made scarce any attempts in *relievo*. He determined at length to try his skill, in this department of the art; and in the year 1803 were to be seen, in his workshop, sixteen specimens of *basso relievo*, on the history of Socrates, and upon Homeric and other subjects. The best of these works represents the city of Padua; but he is thought, in all of them, to have come far short of that excellence, which marks the efforts of Thorwaldsen in the department of *bas reliefs*.

Among the very best of the works of Canova is the *penitent Magdalen*, praying on her knees, with a cross of two reeds held horizontally in her hands, with tears starting from her eyes, and a living expression of penitence and grief. It belonged originally to M. Duveyrier of Paris, who was attached to the French service in Italy in 1797, but has since passed into the possession of M. Sommariva.

Of a character wholly different from the Magdalen is the *Hebe*, who is represented dancing on a cloud, and pouring out the nectar for the gods. Her figure is marked with all the freshness of youth, is bare to the girdle, and thence downward clothed with a drapery, in which alone the artist has not been perfectly successful. It belongs to the Marquis Albrizzi in Venice.

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Let us now consider Canova in another class of subjects. The *furious Hercules precipitating Lichas* into the sea was the subject of his choice. The principal figure exceeds in size even the Farnese Hercules. The subject is truly tragical, and is executed with wonderful power. The manner in which the hero grasps Lichas by the hair of his head and his foot, holding him thus inverted in the air, while the wretched victim clings in vain with his hands to a rock is perhaps out of nature. It is also objected to the principal figure, that it is too narrow across the hips, and that the poisoned vest is too light and insignificant. This imposing group once belonged to the duke of Miranda in Naples, but has passed into the possession of the banker Torlonia, the duke of Bracciano, at Rome.

The *two Gladiators*, Kreugas and Damoxenos, a subject from Pausanias, is another work in the same grand style. There is a want of nobility both in the countenances and forms of the cambatants, and the expression of brute strength is too little relieved by that of courage and heroism. The gentleman of *the fancy* too find fault with the attitudes, as contrary to the rules of boxing; a fault to be excused in consideration of the want in Rome of an establishment like Fives' court in London. Notwithstanding the defects in this work, it is considered the happiest effort of Canova in the heroic style; and forms a part of the collection in the Vatican.

Another *Cupid and Psyche*, formerly in possession of Murat, is one of the most beautiful works of Canova. His Palamedes, a statue produced about the same time with the Gladiators and intended as a counterpart of the Perseus, met with a singular fate. It was overthrown and broken by the Tiber, which penetrated into the *attelier* of the artist, in the inundation of 1805.

In the years 1796 and 1797, was executed by Canova the model for the monument of the archduches Christina of Austria, the wife of Albert, duke of Saxe Teschen. This monument was set up, in 1805, in the chapel of the church of the Augustines at Vienna; where also is the tomb of Leopold II, by Zauner. This remarkable work, besides the usual parts of a monument, contains two groups constituting a funeral train. The one group consists of *Virtue*, with two children, carrying torches, approaching to enter the door of the tomb, with backs turned to the spectator. The other

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group, at a greater distance on the right, represents *Benevolence*, under the form of a young woman, supporting a blind old man, who is led by a girl of about six years, with hands joined and a drooping head. Notwithstanding the exceptions taken to the idea of this work, and the incongruity found by severe critics, in the introduction of a theatrical procession of figures into a work in marble, it is nevertheless a production of infinite beauty and effect in its details, unquestionably superior to every monumental work of the same class, and the proof of a brilliant epoch in the history of the art.

In 1797, Canova executed the model of a statue of the king of Naples in the dress of a Roman warrior, and the statue was completed in 1803; it is in marble and is one of his most beautiful works. In the winter of 1818—19, he was employed on the model of a colossal equestrian statue of the king of Naples, which has since, we believe, been cast in bronze.

In 1798 and 1799, Canova accompanied the prince Rezzouinco on a journey to Prussia and Germany. On his return he passed some time in Venice, occupied in designing an altar for the church of his native village Passagno, where we have understood he has since ordered the erection of a church at his own expense, and on a pure doric model.

The first work exhibited, after his return to Rome, was the Perseus, to which we have already alluded. This is one of the chief works of Canova, and contributed more, perhaps, than any other, to obtain him, in the public estimation, the palm of the art. It represents Perseus stepping forward with the head of Medusa, held by the hair in his left hand, and a sword in the right. Without entering into the discussions of the connoisseurs upon the subject of this statue, it is objected to it, that it is but a parody or copy of the Apollo Belvidere, and that the position is unnatural, and even one, which it would be physically impossible for a living man to stand in. The principal details of the work and the mechanical skill are thought among the happiest efforts of Canova's chisel. A *Mars, the pacificator*, intended as a *pendant* to the Perseus, was exhibited in clay by the artist in 1802. It was an unsuccessful effort, and never executed in marble.

In 1802, Canova was called to Paris by Napoleon, for the purpose of executing his statue. It appears to have been the design of the artist to present in the head the *ideal* of a hero,

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but the body is not of corresponding dignity and beauty. It is fifteen palms high, including the base: the body inclines forward on the right leg; and in the right hand is a globe with the goddess of victory. The left arm is bent and supported by a lance, over and behind the arm hangs a mantle, and, with this exception, the statue is perfectly naked. It is said of this statue by the critics, 'that it is very large, without expressing the idea of grandeur;' or, to retain the play of words 'questa statua è molto *grande*, senza che abbia alchun' aria di *grandezza*.' The article on Canova in the *Biographie des hommes vivans*, a work, which our thorough dislike for the spirit in which it is compiled, prevents our ever resorting to, but when urged by the want of the facts it contains, and even they must be received with caution, thus speaks of this statue:

'This work was intended to be placed in the gallery of antiques in the Louvre, but Bonaparte, seeing himself represented in a manner too like nature, betrayed his dissatisfaction at an image of his person so like himself, and yet so void of nobleness, and forbade the exhibition of it to the public. It remained in the museum for a long time concealed behind a veil. In 1814, at the period of the restoration, it appeared for a moment, but was remanded to the magazines, which it is not destined to leave.'

We apprehend the nudity of this statue, a quality just tolerated in antiques, and by no means admissible in a contemporary portrait, to have been the true reason of its concealment. This statue of Napoleon is to be distinguished from that which stood on the top of the column in the place Vendôme, which was attempted to be pulled down by the mob, by means of a rope round the neck, on the occupation of Paris by the allies, and which was afterwards taken down, under the protection of a *corps* of Russian soldiers. The white flag of the Bourbons now occupies its place, at the top of this beautiful column. Our Italian, or rather Swedish, authority [M. Fernow, the author of the *Rœmische Studien*, is a Swede] relates that while Canova was at work on the statue of Bonaparte, Pope Pius VII made a visit to the *attelier* of the artist. After the workmen, agreeably to usage, had been admitted, and had kissed the feet of his holiness, the Pope passed into another apartment, where stood the model of the statue of Bonaparte. Canova pointed to a block of marble of immense size, and without a spot, adding that it was designed to furnish the statues both of his holiness and the French emperor.

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'Pius VII,' adds our author, 'evinced a singular joy, at understanding that his likeness was to be cut from the same block, with that of the hero whom he had consecrated.' We apprehend that whoever has seen the model of the statue of Bonaparte, which was the last winter, and probably is now, in the workshop of Canova, will feel strong doubts of a block of marble ever having been transported to Rome, large enough for that statue and another besides of the Pope. For the rest, at the period when this valuable anecdote was recorded (1806) it was no doubt a popular doctrine in the ecclesiastical state, that its temporal and spiritual head was on good terms with the French emperor. But should our poor labours find their way, at this time of day, to the eyes of any of the faithful subjects of the Pope, they will feel as little gratitude to us for repeating this anecdote, as they do to the Abbè Grégoire, for having translated and reprinted a christmas homily of his holiness, then the citizen Cardinal Chiaramonti, preached in 1797, in which, according to Grégoire's translation, the venerable Cardinal, now Pope, exclaims, 'Yes, my dear brethren, be ye all christians, and you will be excellent democrats.'

Among the numerous works executed by Canova, since this period, one of the most celebrated is his Venus, originally made to replace the Venus de' Medici in the Florence gallery. It is now preserved in the palace Pitti, the residence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and a copy of it, formerly belonging to Lucien Bonaparte, is in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne, at London.

The statue of the Princess Borghese, the sister of Bonaparte, is preserved in the Borghese palace at Rome, but not permitted to be seen by the public. It is half naked, seated on a couch, the head reclining on one hand, with the apple, adjudged of old by Paris, in the other.

Theseus overcoming a Centaur may be considered as serving as a *pendant* to the group of Hercules and Lichas, and is thought superior to it. It has the defect of the latter group, of portraying a subject rather horrible than sublime, and it is with effort that the eye rests upon the agonized struggles of the semi-human sufferer. Among the more recent productions of Canova, the *Dancers* and the *Nymph reclining* while Cupid plays the lyre are the most celebrated. There is something of the affectation and coquetry of a French opera dancer, in the air of one or two of the first statues, a want of the inno-

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cence and simplicity which breathe in those models of the antique which are devoted to the same subject. The group of the Nymph and Cupid is pleasing, particularly the attitude of the latter, whose whole soul seems absorbed in the music of his little instrument. A copy of this group has been lately made for the present king of England, George IV.

In 1815, Canova was deputed by the Pope to superintend the removal from Paris of the works and monuments of art, that had been brought thither from the ecclesiastical state. The Paris wits remarked, that instead of the title of *ambassadeur*, he should have borne that of *emballeur*. He received commission, on this occasion, to make a statue of the Emperor Alexander, to decorate the palace of the senate at St. Petersburg. Shortly after, he visited London, and was presented by the then Prince Regent, with a diamond snuff-box. His feelings of admiration, on viewing the Elgin marbles, almost the only authentic monuments of his great master Phidias, which he had seen, are expressed in a letter to M. Visconti, prefixed to a memoir on the subject of these marbles, by that celebrated antiquarian. Canova had been applied to, some time before, by Lord Elgin, to restore these mutilated, but precious relics of antiquity; but very properly declined an undertaking, in which success would have been so difficult to attain, and so little likely to be appreciated. It would surely have been neither for the interest nor credit of Canova, to employ his time and risk his reputation, in restoring legs, arms, and noses, even to the statues of Phidias.

On his return to Rome, Canova was received with great distinction. The academy of St. Luke went out to meet him in a body, and his holiness, in an audience granted him Jan. 5, 1816, condescended to present him, with his own hand, the certificate of his enrolment on the book of the capitol. Nor has the apostolical bounty stopped here, for with the title of *Marquis of Ischia*, a pension of 3000 dollars was conferred on the artist. This, we understand, with a liberality worthy his great fame, he appropriates to the encouragement of the art, and the aid of poor artists.

The elder masters often united in themselves several branches of the art. Phidias was at once the master of architecture, and sculpture. Michael Angelo was sculptor, painter and architect. We have one statue in a church of Rome, said to have been modelled by Raphael; and Berni-

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ni used the pencil perhaps as well as the chisel. Canova too has painted a few pictures. It has commonly happened that the pictures of sculptors have been defective in colouring, but correct though hard in the drawing. Canova's pictures, on the other hand, are faint and powerless in composition, but possess the beautiful and natural tints of the Venetian School; giving another confirmation to the remark, that it is perhaps some quality in the air and climate, which is the ultimate source of the excellence of that school in this respect.

As nothing is uninteresting, which concerns men like Canova, it may be added, that in his person he is not above the middling stature, active in his movements, very industrious in his habits, highly amiable in his temper, and courteous in his manners. The opinion was expressed at Rome, at the time that he was employed on the statue of Washington, that the upper part of his face was not unlike that of the General.

With respect to this statue, the only work of Canova, as far as we are aware, which our country can boast, if indeed it have already reached Raleigh, we can speak only of the model in clay. The likeness is certainly not strong, and the artist complained of the want of materials to deduce it from; a circumstance the more to be regretted, as no countenance is better ascertained than Washington's, and if materials were not put into his hands, it could not be because they do not exist. We apprehend, moreover, that the costume of the statue will not suit the American taste. Gen. Washington is represented sitting, with a tablet supported by his left hand, on which he is about to write the constitution of America with a style, which he holds in his right. Though thus occupied as a civil legislator, he is clad in the Roman military dress with a brazen cuirass, half of the thigh, the knees, and legs bare, and military sandals. It seems to us that this dress is in itself unbecoming, besides being inconsistent with the legislative or civil occupation represented. The only costume that we can imagine less becoming than the ancient military dress, is the modern military dress, the hussar boots, faced coat, and hair clubbed up with pomatum, in which we understand Mr. Chantry will dress Gen. Washington in the statue designed for Boston, according to the theory of the English school, which enjoins the closest possible imitation of nature, and adherence to historical truth. Neither of these principles is just in the art. Nature is to be imitat-

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ed, only in her noble, select, and pleasing parts, and historical truth adhered to no farther than it adds to the beauty, grandeur, and charm of the work; provided that the deviation be not such as to shock our judgments. Look at the statue of the Queen before St. Paul's, in her hoop and toupet. We would have had Gen. Washington's statue in the true classical dress, the ancient civil senatorial robe, call it Roman or Greek, alike removed from the indelicate bareness of the Roman armour, and the fantastical cuts and folds of our modern tailoring.

The work of Madame Albrizzi, at the head of this article, is, as she informs us in the preface, but a preliminary volume, intended to have been followed by another, with the engraved designs of the works of Canova, and an account of his life. We have never seen this continuation, and are inclined to think that the little volume before us is all that has appeared. It contains a brief account of the principal statues and works *in* relief of Canova, rather in the way of encomium than description, and animated not less by a personal friendship for the artist, than by the merit of his works. Madame Albrizzi is herself in possession of a beautiful bust of Helen, the gift as well as the work of Canova.

ART. XX.—1. *The late fever in Boston.* New England Medical Journal, Oct. 1819.

2. *Case of the ship Ten Brothers; being the report of a committee of the Board of Health, unanimously accepted, and published by order of the Board.* Boston, 1819.

3. *A statement of the occurrences during a malignant yellow fever in the city of New York, in the summer and autumnal months of* 1819. New York, 1819.

4. *Observations on the epidemic of* 1819, *as it prevailed in a part of the city of Baltimore. By David M. Reese, M. D.* Baltimore, 1819.

THE cities of the United States have exhibited a curious spectacle during the last year. In most of our principal towns, a malignant and fatal disease, long known as the *yellow fever*, has prevailed to a greater or less extent; at the same time that in the greatest part of them a rigid system of quarantine has been put in execution in each, to prevent

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the importation of the same disease from the others. Philadelphia, forgetful of her reputation for kindness and hospitality, with a few cases within her own borders, carried the system of exclusion so far, as to prohibit all intercourse with her neighbour, Baltimore, refused a shelter to those who were seeking a refuge from the disease, and denied admittance, or even liberty to pass through, to all who had visited any part of that city.

New York, at a time when her citizens, struck with terror, were fleeing in every direction from before the face of the disease, when her stores were shut by hundreds, and all business suspended in consequence of it, and when her courts of justice were closed, or removed to other places, for fear of it, ordered a long quarantine upon vessels which arrived from Boston, where scarcely a shop was shut in consequence of the fever, and the regular course of business was not interrupted. And because a gentleman from Boston, after spending seventeen days at the quarantine ground of New York, in preference to remaining longer under the guardianship of her health officers, chose to return to the place which was the source of their fears, he was advertised at New York, and a reward offered for his apprehension, as though he had been a felon. American ships from England were brought to, opposite the lazaretto of New York, and obliged to submit to visits of officers fresh from the exposure to the disease, lest peradventure they had brought the plague from Liverpool. Even New Orleans partook of the general terror and ordered a quarantine, lest the yellow fever should be imported from Boston.

At the same time Boston was equally engaged in enforcing the same precautions towards her sister cities. Her health officers were not prevented, by the prevalence of the fever in its most fatal forms, in a small part of the town, and occasional cases of it in almost all the other parts, from yielding to the dread of importing it from abroad, but applied to the southern cities the same system of quarantine, which some of them had enforced against us.

Thus each city has been looking abroad for the sources of her evils, and dreading their approach, when they were already within her own walls, obstinately defending one little outpost, while the whole citadel was in the hands of the enemy. Such a state of things is a reproach to the community which

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supports it. It shows most clearly, either that the present system of quarantine is entirely inefficient, as a protection against the contagion of yellow fever, or that the disease is domestic in its origin, and does not depend upon contagion for its propagation. Whichever part of the alternative is preferred, it is evident that a great and radical change is necessary in our measures of defence against the attacks of this disease, before they can be entitled to our confidence. It were vain to trust to slight modifications or partial amendments of a system, which is still so imperfect, after the experience of centuries has endeavoured, with so little success, to render it complete.

The question, whether the yellow fever is or is not a contagious disease, has produced too much excitement among the advocates for the doctrine of contagion, to receive a dispassionate and impartial examination. They seem to regard it as a reproach to a country to suppose it capable of originating so foul a disease. Their patriotism is therefore engaged to find it some origin, foreign to their own country. Hence, the disease is traced, or rather supposed to be traced, from city to city, and from country to country; the writers in each denying that it belongs to them, until some place can be found, which has no friend to defend it from the imputation. This consideration, childish as it is in itself, has in America unquestionably had much effect in preventing a fair investigation of the true character of the disease; not indeed so much in the profession, which is the best qualified to judge correctly on the subject, but among those who have no medical knowledge, and who unfortunately have the entire control of all measures relative to the public health. We are told with much confidence and zeal, that it is a libel on our country to suppose it capable of generating yellow fever; and the feelings of self-interest of those, the value of whose property may be affected by a belief of its domestic origin, aid in giving effect to the assertion; until passion and prejudice are made the arbiters of this great question. Yet no good reason can be given why the disease should not be produced, as well in this as in any other country. If, as is generally supposed, it owes its origin to the effects of putrefaction, the temperature of our climate, in its highest state, which is the only time the disease prevails, is sufficient for a very active putrefactive fermentation; and no one can doubt that there are in all our cities abundant supplies of materials for putrefaction to act upon.

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Several of the most distinguished of the more recent supporters of the doctrine of contagion regard the yellow fever, as it has prevailed during the last twenty-eight years, as a new disease essentially different from that which previously bore the same name; the former they contend is contagious, and spread only by communication from one individual to another; the latter, they allow has no such property. Dr. Chisholm, who takes the lead in this opinion, says, 'the yellow remitting fever is almost universally allowed not to be contagious.' But he asserts, that he has published two volumes to prove it, that a new and contagious yellow fever was generated in the island of Bulam, on the coast of Africa, and imported into Grenada, in the ship Hankey, in the spring of 1793; and from thence has since been carried to different parts of the world. Sir James Fellowes, Dr. Pym, and others, have adopted the general opinions of Dr. Chisholm, but without agreeing with him in limiting the time of its origin to 1793. Indeed Dr. Pym, although he adopts from Dr. Chisholm the name of *Bulam fever*, labours to prove its existence for centuries as a distinct disease; and Sir J. Fellowes acknowledges that the yellow fever at Charlestown in 1748 was the same disease as that, which prevailed in Spain from 1800 to 1813.

With all these gentlemen, the doctrine of the contagion of yellow fever rests upon establishing a distinctive difference of character between the Bulam, or pestilential fever, and the bilious remittent of former times. Yet it does not appear that the phenomena of the two diseases (if they are to be regarded as two) are materially unlike each other, except perhaps in the severity of the symptoms, and the consequent fatality of the result. In the milder cases it is acknowledged by Dr. Pym that it is impossible to distinguish them; and in more severe cases it is evident, that not only the same symptoms, but the same combination of symptoms appear, sometimes, at least, in both. Indeed this very similarity has been taken advantage of to prove the existence of contagion, or rather, for the purpose of evading the proof that the disease exists without it. When it has been decidedly shown in regard to some particular epidemic of yellow fever, that it possessed no contagious properties, the inference is avoided in reference to the general question, by assuming gratuitously that the disease was only a remittent, and not the true yellow

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or pestilential fever. In this manner Dr. Pym takes it for granted, that the fever, which prevailed in Philadelphia in 1793, was the true Bulam, and therefore of course contagious, and that of the subsequent years a common remittent, and not contagious; although Dr. Rush and his contemporaries in Philadelphia, with all their experience and observation, had not the sagacity to discover any peculiarities of appearance, which should excite so much as a suspicion, that the disease of the different periods was not identical.

This circumstance were alone sufficient to show that the supposed two diseases are in fact one. It is perfectly absurd to suppose that there are two diseases with characters so diametrically opposite, that one is propagated only by contagion, while the other possesses no contagious property whatever, and yet with phenomena so similar as to render them incapable of being distinguished from each other, by the most accurate and experienced observers. But this circumstance does not stand alone; the two forms of disease are every where blended together, and run promiscuously into each other. Cases on record are frequent, in which a fever, which in the beginning was a mild remittent, has terminated with all the peculiarities ascribed to the Bulam; and on the other hand, in which a violent Bulam fever has relaxed into a gentle remittent. We are therefore warranted in considering this disease as possessing the same general character in all its forms and degrees of severity. If it is contagious in one place, it is so in another; and proofs that it is not extended by contagion are fairly applicable to all places where the disease has prevailed.

We are not however limited to the milder forms of the disease, for proof that it is not contagious. Abundant evidence of this may be found in the circumstances of its progress in its most malignant state. But before we go into the examination of this evidence, we must stop and inquire more exactly what we are to understand by contagion.

The term *contagion* has often been loosely used, to express any circumstance by which a disease may be communicated, whether it arise from contact with persons affected by that disease, or from any other cause. By many persons every epidemic is regarded as of course contagious, and among the community at large every disease which is catching, as it is called, is supposed to be derived from contagion. This,

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however, is not the meaning which properly belongs to the word, nor is it the sense in which it is taken by the writers on either side, in reference to the question in dispute. Properly speaking, contagion is a property of disease, produced only by the disease itself, by which the same specific disease is communicated from a sick to a well person, either by direct contact or near approach, or by the transmission of matter which emanates from the disease. Hence a disease which is the effect of contagion has always the property of communicating itself to other persons, provided the same circumstances exist, as those in which it was itself produced.

There are two causes to which the prevalence of yellow fever is attributed. One is local in its origin, proceeding from exhalations from peculiar kinds of earth, or from the decomposition of organized matter; the other is of amore general nature, being a communication of the disease from one individual to another. Both these causes have in common language been called contagion; but it is to the latter only that the term properly belongs.

In order to prove that either of these is the true cause of the disease, it is obviously necessary to show that the disease is produced by it under circumstances, which preclude all possibility of the operation of the other. This is a consideration which appears to have been very much overlooked in reference to the proofs of contagion. If we examine the cases adduced as evidence that this is a contagious fever, we shall find, generally at least, that the subjects of them had been exposed to the same local causes of disease, as those were from whom they were supposed to receive it. Persons have visited their sick friends, have nursed them in their sickness, have watched with them, and mourned over them; and in their turn have taken the disease and died. The same thing has sometimes happened to those who have not entered the sick rooms, from only visiting the sickly districts.

But, on the other hand, when the sick are removed from the immediate circle in which they received the disease, do they carry with them the contagion, and spread sickness and death around them? If they do, let it be conceded that the yellow fever owes the extent of its ravages to its contagion; if they do not, we are warranted in the conclusion, that it is not a contagious disease. That they do not, is abundantly proved by the history of the disease, wherever its progress has been accurate-

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ly detailed. Examples are very numerous of persons, who, after being exposed to the causes of the yellow fever, have gone among their friends at a distance from those causes, and have had free intercourse with them, without communicating the disease to any one. In many instances watering and other parties, which have been sent on shore from ships of war, without having any communication with sick persons on shore, have all been taken sick with the yellow fever, after their return on board, and many of them have died, while no other person in the ship, although full of men, has been affected by it. Even when the sick are crowded together in hospitals, that are at a sufficient distance from the seat of the epidemic, they do not communicate the disease to their attendants. This has been abundantly proved in the hospitals established for yellow fever patients in the vicinity of New York and Philadelphia.

While the yellow fever raged in Malaga in 1804, the inhabitants of Churriana and some other villages in the vicinity received many of the sick among them; but the diesase was not communicated by them. 'M. Delestra, the French practitioner,' says Sir James Fellowes, 'informed me, that he was appointed by the alcade of that village, the foreign consuls, and merchants, who had fled thither during the sickness in Malaga, to superintend the lazaretto that they had formed at Churriana. Twenty persons had already died there, principally those who went daily into Malaga, and had come from thence with the disease upon them. The same observation was made in the neighbouring villages of Torre-Molino, Alhaurin, Alaurinego, and Coin, that the emigrants from Malaga, the bakers and messengers, or carriers were those affected, and most of them with the symptoms of the yellow fever. But he remarked, that not one of them communicated the disease to any individuals of the house.' It is surely more rational to ascribe this exemption of the inhabitants of these villages from the disease to the absence of contagion, than to adopt the opinion of the inhabitants themselves, that it was owing to the burning of aromatic herbs and plants in their ovens.

This circumstance has often been quoted, in support of the doctrine of contagion, that those who flee from towns where the yellow fever prevails, generally escape its attacks. It seems to be forgotten that they withdraw from the influence

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of the exhalations which are the cause of disease. Sir James Fellowes reports it as 'a curious and striking fact,' that while the fever raged in Gibraltar in 1804, the families of Col. Fyers, Mr. Thomas Cooper, and Mr. Watkins, all remained free from it, at Europa near to Gibraltar, except Capt. Gardner in the family of Col. Fyers, who was obliged to pass through the town to attend his duty. 'But,' continues Sir James, 'it is a curious fact, that although he had symptoms of the disease, they were not so strongly marked as to be capable of effecting reproduction of the disease in others, for of the whole family, none were attacked with the prevailing complaint.' That the cause of the exemption of these families from the disease, was not what Sir James supposes it to have been, the absence of the means of communicating contagion to them, is shown by the melancholy result of a similar seclusion at the same time but in a less fortunate place, reported also by Sir James Fellowes. Mr. George Cooper, a brother of Thomas, confined himself and family to his house in a garden at Rosia. But so far were they from being preserved by this precaution, eight out of the nine persons connected with the family had the disease and five died, besides four servants who were taken ill but recovered.

Indeed we no where hear of persons being secured from an attack of yellow fever, by avoiding an immediate contact with the sick while they remain in their immediate vicinity. In this respect there is a striking contrast between this disease and the plague, which is acknowledged on all hands to be contagious. In that disease, violent and fatal as it is, persons are secured from its attacks, not only by shutting themselves from its influence while it prevails all around them, but may even visit the sick rooms with impunity, provided they are careful to avoid actual contact with the diseased; at the same time that its liability to be communicated from one individual to another, is not limited to any definite extent. We have seen that in both these particulars, the opposite is true of the yellow fever. Within the sickly circuit no person is secured from it, by avoiding the presence of the sick, and without that circuit, the disease is not communicated by the most intimate intercourse. We might add very much to the evidence which we have presented of the truth of this assertion; but to collect all the proofs of it, would be

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but to add another to the volumes already published in support of it.

An attempt has lately been made by a zealous friend of contagion to evade the inference from this body of evidence, that the yellow fever is not contagious, by assuming it as a peculiar property of the contagion of this disease, that it acts only in an impure atmosphere; just as other diseases have their peculiar modes of communicating their contagion, one by contact, another by respiration, &c. This hypothesis is perfectly without foundation, and is too absurd to need a refutation; and shows such an ignorance of the subject that we do not feel at liberty to take advantage of the acknowledgment implied by it of the correctness of the points which we have been endeavouring to maintain. We should not have noticed it, were it not that the situation of its author, as the editor of a public journal, has given him an opportunity to exert an influence upon public opinion, much greater than he is entitled to by the extent of his medical knowledge.

Sir James Fellowes and Dr. Pym acknowledge that the disease cannot prevail in an open airy country. This, although in other places they pronounce it *highly contagious*, they attribute to the weakness of the contagion, which is too much diluted to act in such situations. But we have seen that the disease has shown no marks of contagion in crowded ships and hospitals under circumstances peculiarly favourable to its operation. Besides, we might ask, if the contagion is so easily destroyed, how it is capable of being conveyed from country to country; or lying dormant for months and years, and then reappearing with destructive activity.

In many places where the yellow fever has appeared, there has not been the least evidence of its importation; and in most of them, the attempts to point out the time and manner of its importation have been incomplete and contradictory. How different is this from the progress of the small pox or any other disease which is avowedly contagious? This fever too, in temperate climates at least, prevails only after a series of such weather as is the most unfavourable to vigorous health, and generally begins in those parts of cities, which from their filthiness and want of ventilation are peculiarly suited to the production of putrid exhalations. Neither is the progress of this fever through a town such as might be expected from a disease which is propagated only by contagion.

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The friends of those first affected, who are most ready to visit them in their sickness, are not likely to be limited to their immediate neighbourhood, but to reside in various sections of the town. In a contagious disease therefore, we should expect to see new cases not only arising in different and distant places, but becoming themselves new centres of diseased circles, from which it is rapidly extended to many others. On the contrary, except in some towns in which from their local situation every part is equally exposed to the action of marsh effluvia, the yellow fever creeps from house to house and from street to street, as the influence of the putrid exhalations, which cause it, is gradually extended.

There are many other considerations which might be mentioned in confirmation of the opinion, that this fever is not propagated by contagion, but is domestic and local in its origin. But we omit them for the reason already given, and turn our attention to the examination of the circumstances under which the disease was produced in several cities of the United States the last summer and autumn. These circumstances were peculiarly favourable to a determination of the great question in dispute; because as it was not extensively epidemic in any of the more northern cities, an opportunity is furnished, to trace the origin and result of individual cases, with more accuracy than can be done when its ravages are more extensive.

In Boston, this fever has appeared in three different years. Each time of its appearance, the summers have been unusually hot; and the fever has been principally confined to a small section of the town.

'In the year 1798,' says the author of the account of the fever of the last season, 'we had among us an epidemic fever, which passed under the name of yellow fever, and which was no doubt of the same character, as the disease which has been known elsewhere under that name. This disease was limited in its extent, occurring only in persons who lived or passed much of their time about the Town dock, State street, Liberty square, around Fort-hill, and in some similar situations; that is to say, in parts which are low, and on the eastern and southern borders of the town, though not in every situation of this kind. The number of persons affected at that time was very small in proportion to those, who have suffered under a similar epidemic in some of the other cities in our own country, and in some cities in the south of Europe, within the last twenty-six years.

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'In the year 1802, the same disease appeared within much narrower limits. It was confined to the neighbourhood of Fort-hill; that is, it appeared in its mildest form in Liberty square, which is on the north side of the hill, and in a more severe form in Purchase street, the lower part of Summer street, and a little in Sea street and High street. A few persons underwent the disease in other parts of the town; but they were persons who had passed some time, not merely visited, in the places above-mentioned; and the disease did not extend from such persons to others who attended them.

'The fever, which has appeared this year, has been confined to limits still more narrow than those in 1802. It has been around Fort-hill, but mostly within one small square on the south-eastern side of the hill. The longest side of this square is about twenty five rods in length. This square is bounded by Purchase street, High street, Griffin street, and Gibb's lane. The disease did not even extend over the whole of this square; but has been almost confined to the half nearest Purchase street. There have, however, been a few cases in the vicinity of this square, and perhaps two or three on the other borders of the hill. It has likewise happened now, as in 1802, that persons who have contracted the disease on the ground above described, have sickened elsewhere; but the disease has not in this way been extended to other persons. Since the above statement was drawn up, scattered cases of the disease have appeared over a larger extent, but still in a circle around Fort-hill. These cases have been somewhat milder than those which occurred in July and August. The fatal ones have not terminated so early, as happened in most of the other cases. The most strict investigation in respect to some of these later cases, has shown that the disease had not been derived from those previously sick.' *N. E. Med. Journ. vol.* viii. p. 380.

The first cases of the disease occurred about the last of June, and were very speedily fatal. The number was not, however, so great as it was about a month later, after a longer period of very warm weather. In the mean time, a new source of the disease appeared. On the 26th of July the ship Ten Brothers arrived at the quarantine ground in the harbour, and on the first of August came up to the town. This ship had been absent nearly a year on a voyage to the coast of Africa. The captain and a boy had died of fever on board at Prince's Island in February and March; and a man in July of some other disease. On her return she had taken in a quantity of Indian corn, which was discharged at

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Martinico, and she brought home only a small part of a cargo of any sort. From the statement of the board of health respecting this ship, it appears that

'The said ship while at sea, and before her arrival on quarantine ground, leaked considerably, between two and three hundred strokes an hour; after her arrival at quarantine, she did not leak much, but she was pumped out every night and morning, while she lay there. While at quarantine, no articles whatever were delivered out, or taken from said ship, except such as were taken out for purification on the island, by order of the assistant physician of the board, and the same when cleansed were put on board again; and no person except the officers of the board of health, and a little son of Capt. Cobb's and the crew of said ship, were on board said ship, while she remained on quarantine ground. The ship remained on quarantine ground as long as the law, and the regulations of the board of health, require vessels to remain similarly situated. Said ship was washed with vinegar, and every night fumigated in her cabin, and between decks, while on quarantine, and every cleansing and purification of said ship and articles on board, was used, in the most faithful manner that has ever been thought to be necessary or proper, with vessels arriving at quarantine, similarly situated.'

All this, as we have seen, must have been done between the twenty-sixth of July and the first of August. It does not appear that any examination was made of the state of the lower hold of the ship; and no part of the cargo was removed. Yet this cargo was in a state very far from healthful; and it is matter of common remark that no ship has arrived in our harbour for many years in so foul a state as the Ten Brothers. The interstices between her timbers were filled with corn and coffee, in the most putrid state; and the gunny bags and the coffee of her cargo were filled with insects. We are told by the author of 'the late fever,' that 'it has been stated by people of veracity that the ship was extremely foul, so as to be offensive to the senses, even when coming up the harbour, and of course before her cargo was started.'

After some remarks, the board proceed:

'When Capt. Cobb left quarantine ground, with the ship, his wife, two of his sons, and a nephew went in the ship with him up to Boston; the ship laboured much, and the crew were wet and much fatigued, after leaving quarantine, and before they arrived at the wharf in Boston. On arriving at the wharf, Capt. Cobb,

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under the inspection of the late Mr. Eaton, one of the officers of the customs, delivered from said ship some articles of clothing, being an adventure, belonging to Capt. Mayo, late master of said ship; and on Tuesday, [the 3d] the day before the said ship was unladed at the wharf, the late Mr. Daniel Badger received from said ship a box containing brushes, and a handkerchief containing common slop clothes, that had been sent an adventure, and returned in said ship. The crew of the said ship did not assist in unlading her at the wharf, but they all slept on board her, on Sunday night, when she first arrived at the wharf, and on that Sunday and Monday following, they were all taken sick and left the ship; three of them died, during the week, after leaving Boston, and two recovered. On Wednesday, [the 4th] after the said ship arrived at the wharf, and when unlading, a white scum was discovered on the bilge-water in her lower hold, and an unusual stench from the water pumped out of her; putrid corn was also discovered to be scattered in her timbers under her ceiling.'

We have been thus particular in detailing the circumstances respecting the ship Ten Brothers, in order that it may be distinctly seen what foundation there is for the supposition, that the disease which originated in her arose from imported contagion. In regard to the disease at Fort-Hill, it must be remarked, there is not the slightest ground for pretending that it was imported. On this subject, the author of 'the late fever,' remarks:

'As usual, however, in every case of a malignant disease, there have been persons, who have attempted to show that the whole was of foreign origin. To this subject we have attended without prejudice, but we have not found any reason to believe that the disease on Fort-Hill was introduced from abroad. That it was not derived from the ship Ten Brothers is sufficiently evident from dates. At the moment when the first distinctly marked cases occurred on the hill, every investigation was made to trace them to a foreign source, but in vain. This investigation was prosecuted by persons of different opinions on the general question at issue, but with the same result.'

The character and respectability of the family in which the disease first appeared on Fort-Hill were such, as to aid the inquiry, and every circumstance relating to it was fully and satisfactorily investigated. The result was not only that there was no proof of importation; but it was evident that the disease could not have been imported.

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From these two sources arose the disease which occasioned a considerable number of deaths, and gave so much alarm in Boston the last summer. Many persons were on board the Ten Brothers soon after her arrival; and within a few days, several of them were attacked with violent symptoms of fever, which to most of them, in a short time, proved fatal. These persons, as well as some of those who received the disease on Fort-hill, were sick in various parts of the town and in other towns, but they did not communicate the disease to others. Except in one instance, of which we shall speak presently, there was no case of the fever which could not be distinctly traced to exposure on board the ship, or to Fort-hill.

Mr. Badger, who has been mentioned, sickened and died at Portsmouth. His brother, who was with him, and had slept with him in the same bed, the night previous to his death, supposing the disease to be contagious, was afraid to return to his family, lest he should introduce it among them. But notwithstanding the strong predisposition to disease necessarily occasioned by such a state of alarm, he waited in vain for its approach. The sailors, who were taken sick, were carried to Brewster, where, as we have seen, a part of them died, and some persons were sick at Marblehead. Among the cases on Fort-hill, Mr. Wilds died on the second of August, and his remains were immediately removed to Acton. A grand child sickened the third, and died the seventh. His wife sickened on the seventh, and was removed to Acton where she died. Their daughter was taken about the same time, and removed to her brother's in Back street, where she remained three days, and was then removed to Acton, and died there. Mrs. Webster, a relation of the family, who had nursed the child, was also seized the sixth or seventh, and removed to Green street, where, after a severe sickness, she recovered. Yet, amidst all this variety of exposure, the disease was not communicated to others. The same is true, with the exception already referred to, of the whole fifty or sixty cases that occurred in the town.

We are obliged to speak thus loosely of the number of cases, because we have no means of knowing the exact number. So defective is our system of public health, that there are no records to show the extent to which the disease prevailed. No returns of diseases are ever made until after death has taken place; and then only such as the sexton can collect

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from the friends of those whom he goes to bury. Even this system, bad as it is, does not include those who die at at the Almshouse, or at the quarantine ground on Hospital Island.

From all these circumstances, it is evident that the disease which arose from the ship Ten Brothers was as purely local in its origin, as that upon Fort-hill. And as the cases from neither source possessed any contagious properties, so they could not themselves have arisen from contagion. On this subject the board of health remark:

'On a thorough examination into the nature, state, and consequences of the sickness, proceeding from said ship, or her cargo, or articles on board, this committee have no hesitation in stating that in their opinion, said ship on her arrival at the wharf in Boston, was a diseased ship, and that some of the articles that had been on board her during her voyage, and were returned in her, were so infected as to communicate disease to such persons, whose habit of body rendered them prepared victims for malignant disorders; but whether this disease originated from the putrid corn, and condition of the ship, or from subtle poison imported in her from the sickly climes of Africa, it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to determine. Of the nature and character of the disease itself, the committee have not been able to obtain any definite and satisfactory information; whether it be a species of the *plague*, or of what class of diseases, remains at present in doubt. It was early discovered that although the disease was very malignant and fatal, yet *it was not contagious;* the committee have not been informed of a single case, where the disease originated from said ship, has been communicated by the diseased patient.'

By the 'subtle poison imported,' in distinction from that which might arise from the 'putrid corn, and condition of the ship,' nothing can be meant but imported contagion. Had the board been acquainted with the character of contagious diseases, they would have perceived that the acknowledgment which immediately follows, 'that this disease was not contagious,' completely destroys the supposition of its having a contagious origin. But on this subject, we apprehend enough has been said to convince our readers that there was no contagion in the case. As to what is said of the nature of the disease, we beg, for the credit of the physicians of Boston, that it may be distinctly remembered, that there is no physician in the board of health. If the board or their committee were unable to obtain any definite and satisfactory

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information, it is because they did not seek it from that class of men who are generally supposed to be the best acquainted with the characters of diseases. We do not believe there is a physician in Boston who has the least particle of doubt of the kind referred to in this quotation.

We have said that there was one exception to the general fact that the disease was confined to those, who had either visited the ship Ten Brothers or resided near Fort-hill. This was the case of Harriet Bryant in Newbury street, whose brother had sickened on Saturday evening, the seventh of August, after having worked several days on board the ship, and died on Tuesday the tenth. Harriet had occasionally been into his sick room, but being the youngest of the family, had been less with him than his mother and another sister, the former of whom attended upon him constantly throughout his sickness, as his nurse. Previously to his death he vomited upon his pillows a large quantity, not of the usual matter of the black vomit, about which so much has been said in this disease, but of dark coloured grumous blood. The pillows, which were soaked through with this matter, were thrown behind a chimney, until after his death. The day following that event, Harriet took them, ripped them open, and picked over the feathers with her fingers, as they were matted together by the blood and other matters thrown from the stomach. She was a considerable time in doing this, and of course constantly exposed to the exhalations from the feathers, being too, as they must have been, in a half putrid state. She was attacked on Thursday evening the twelfth and died the Sunday following. Such is the account of this case given by her attending physician after a diligent and careful investigation of every circumstance connected with it.

If this had been a case of personal contagion, the mother and other sister would naturally have been the subjects of it. For it has been fully shown, by experiments performed for the purpose, that the matter thrown from the stomach of a person in yellow fever, does not, of itself, produce the disease in others, even when that matter is the true black vomit, and is received into the stomachs of others. But in this case, a sort of diseased atmosphere of limited extent was produced by the effluvia of the putrid mass, which was sufficient to act upon a constitution strongly predisposed to disease by the

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extremely hot weather, and the state of great mental depression which she was in. The analogy of all the other cases that occurred in town furnishes a strong presumption in favour of this explanation. It is confirmed by the fact that however received, the disease in this person was not communicated from her to others; and we have already repeatedly remarked that a disease which is received by contagion, is itself necessarily contagious. The mother of this girl attended constantly upon her, during her sickness, and slept in the room with her the night before her death; and her sister lay beside her in bed all the afternoon before she died; yet both remained in perfect health, as well as her father and brother. This circumstance might possibly be explained by Dr. Pym, by the gratuitous supposition that the remaining persons of this family had previously had the fever, and were therefore protected from it. To this we reply, that we have made inquiry on the subject, and ascertained the contrary to be the fact. No member of that family was ever a subject of the yellow fever, except the two who died of it the last summer.

It is remarkable that whenever the yellow fever has appeared in Boston, it has begun its attacks earlier in the season, than it generally has done in the more southern cities. In New York it did not make its appearance in 1819, until about the first of September. The first death from the disease was on the fifth: on the sixth the Board of Health by a public order pointed out the limits of the sickly district, and recommended to all who lived within it to remove; and on the twelfth, an ordinance was passed, authorizing the mayor, with the advice of the board, to remove any person or things that had been exposed to the action of the disease.

It does not appear that the number of cases, or the degree of fatality, was much greater in New York than it was in Boston. But perhaps from its being more in the centre of population and business, or from some other cause, the alarm which it produced was much more extensive. By the middle of September most of the inhabitants had removed, not only from the sickly district as defined by the Board of Health, but also from the immediate vicinity; and before the end of the month about four hundred removals of places of business of various kinds were advertised. Some of these persons carried the seeds of the disease with them, and were sick after their removal. We have no means of ascertaining how

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many instances there were of this kind. Of an hundred and fifty of the poor who were removed by order of the Board, to Fort Richmond on Staten Island, six sickened and died there. The sick, when it was practicable, were also removed out of town, to Fort Stevens on Long Island. Yet among all this variety of exposure, the disease was not transmitted to those who had not been also exposed to its local causes. If impurity of atmosphere were alone wanted to give effect to the contagion, one would suppose that enough of it for this purpose might naturally be found among the poor who were driven hastily in such a number into Fort Richmond. Or if concentration of contagious poison were needed, it might be supposed to exist, in the accumulation of the sick at Fort Stevens. But the fever did not spread at either of these places. There was indeed one case in the city, which is said to have originated out of the sickly district, and of which there was much dispute whether or not it was a true case of yellow fever. In this dispute we shall not interfere. Nor is it in our power to ascertain whether, supposing it to have been yellow fever, there were peculiarities of local circumstances sufficient to have caused it, as in the case in Boston, which we have before explained. Suffice it to say, that out of the many hundred persons, who must have been exposed to the contagion if it had existed, one only furnished even a doubtful argument in favour of the contagiousness of the disease, beyond the influence of local causes; and from that one the disease certainly did not extend to others.

We have seen no mode pointed out by which the fever of the last season was supposed to have been first imported into New York, although the advocates of the doctrine of its foreign origin are numerous and zealous, in that city. A most unjustifiable attempt, made by the board of health to trace one case to Boston, ought not to be passed without notice. In their report of September 22d, the Board say, 'the health officer reported that Capt. Cary of the sloop Union, had died at the Marine Hospital on the 20th. He had left Boston on the 2d, and his vessel had lain at the Central Wharf, near where the malignant fever prevailed.' The inference obviously intended to be drawn from this statement is, that Capt. Cary had taken the disease in Boston and carried it with him to New York. His vessel was ordered into quarantine; and because a passenger who had gone in her, after remaining

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seventeen days in quarantine, evaded the law and returned to Boston, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of one hundred dollars for his apprehension. It is perfectly well known in Boston, that there was no case of yellow fever on Central Wharf the last season, nor even on Long Wharf, by which the ship Ten Brothers lay, except of those who were actually on board that ship. If all the exertions of the good people of New York to trace their fever to foreign sources are equally unfortunate, we fear, however disagreeable it may be to them, that they must still lie under the imputation of generating it among themselves.

In their report after the termination of the fever, the board of health state two cases, which show in a striking manner, how vain and ineffectual are the attempts to guard against the effects of the supposed contagion of this disease by quarantine regulations.

'That vessels may become extremely infected, and that when they are so it is difficult to purify them, was evident from several instances within the knowledge of the board. Two of them may deserve to be mentioned. The French ship La Florentine arrived here in July, after a passage of twenty days from St Pierres, Martinique. The yellow fever prevailed at that place at the time of her departure, and one of her passengers died with it there. She performed a quarantine of thirty days, underwent all the ordinary purifications, and the 24th of August the health officer reported that she was free from infection and might safely be allowed to come to the wharfs. The board, however, ordered her to be anchored in the stream. In the beginning of September two of the seamen were taken ill with the yellow fever, and she was sent back to the quarantine ground. From thence she went to sea, but having met with a storm, she put back in distress on the 25th of that month, when it is found that since her departure her captain had died of the same disorder.

'The brig Eliza arrived on the 13th of August, after a passage of six days from Charleston, having on board a sick passenger, who died on the same day with the yellow fever. She performed a quarantine of thirty days, and was three times white-washed, her limbers were taken out and cleansed, and she was otherwise purified, and on the 16th September she was allowed to anchor in the stream. Yet on the 6th October her captain died of yellow fever, and on the 7th one of her seamen sickened with the same disease.'

So difficult is it to destroy what in fact does not exist.

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Whether the crews of these vessels imbibed the yellow fever while lying at quarantine, or by communicating with the shore while at anchor in the stream, we know not; but we hope our readers are not so incredulous of the facts which we have stated and referred to, as to make it necessary for us to go into an examination of the circumstances of these cases, to convince them that the vessels did not derive their diseases from any contagion brought with them.

We have founded these remarks on the fever at New York, principally upon the statements of the board of health, rather than upon the publication of Dr. Pascalis at the head of this article; because as that publication was made expressly for the purpose of disproving the existence of contagion, it perhaps might not receive so much confidence from the friends of contagion as the statements of the board.

At Baltimore the yellow fever began earlier than at New York, though later than at Boston. But it soon far exceeded them both, in the extent of its ravages. The fever was here, as in those places, confined to a small section of the town, and to those who visited the sickly portions. The principal seat of the disease was at Fells' Point.

'It was as easy,' says Dr. Reese, 'to separate the healthy from the diseased portion of the Point, as it would be stretch a line across a room, so circumscribed was the extent of the noxious poison. And although a continual intercourse was kept open between the City and Point, and diseased persons constantly carried up to the centre of the city and dying there, yet in no instance was the disease thus communicated. And a fact still more remarkable is, that in the hospital, where there was an accumulation of the worst cases, yet in no instance was a physician, nurse, attendant, or any visitor diseased.'

Had the board of health possessed the authority and the disposition, which they doubtless would have had to exert it, to remove at once all the inhabitants from the sickly district who would not move voluntarily, there is little doubt that the progress of the disease would have been arrested, as it was at New York. But unfortunately no such authority existed, and many persons were too obstinate to remove of their own accord. This not only kept up the disease in themselves, but very greatly increased the danger to many others, by adding to the difficulty of cutting off the intercourse between the healthy and the sickly portions. So long as persons re-

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mained there sick, and in want, they must receive attentions which were necessarily attended with danger to those who paid them.

'And it is very remarkable,' says Dr. Reese, 'that in almost every instance wherein any person visited the Point at night, the disease was contracted, while those who were only there in the day time escaped with impunity.'——'Several physicians who had been attending patients through the whole course of the fever, in the very centre of infection in the day time, were exempted from the malady, but by visiting once in the night they became diseased.'

The healthy parts of the city were crowded with those who removed from the Point. To encourage the removal of the poor, provision was made for them in two contiguous ropewalks, and after these were filled, in tents pitched for the purpose.

More than one thousand persons were here supplied with the necessaries of life for a considerable length of time under the superintendence of proper commissioners. It would be difficult to conceive of circumstances more favourable to the extension of a disease by contagion, than those of this encampment. The habits of the poor are not much in favour of cleanliness and attention to health; and still less are they so when subjected to inconveniences and privations, such as they must here have suffered, notwithstanding all the care and attention of their generous benefactors and of the commissioners. Their constitutions were more or less predisposed to disease by the alarm which had brought them together; and a few actually brought the seeds of the fever with them; yet we are told by Dr. Reese, that

'The health of the inhabitants of the encampment was truly remarkable; for during the whole time of their continuance in the ropewalks, only six persons died there; five others who contracted the disease at the Point, but became affected after their removal to the encampment, were carried to the hospital, and died there; making in all only eleven deaths in the whole number who were collected from the diseased district.'

The circumstances of this epidemic seem to have been decisive in removing from the people of Baltimore, or at least from their health officers all fears of contagion of yellow fe-

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ver. In January last the board of health addressed a letter to the Baltimore District Medical Society, with a series of questions respecting the causes of the epidemic of the last season, and the means of guarding against its return in future. The society in reply attribute the disease entirely to domestic causes, principally to the decomposition of vegetable matter. On the subject of contagion, they are very explicit and decided.

'*Question of contagion and importation.*'

'The doctrines of contagion and importation receive no countenance from this society. They believe that the cause of the disease may be imported; by this is understood a cargo of vegetable substances in a putrescent state.'

The measures of defence recommended were mostly such as naturally arise from this view of the origin of the disease; a careful attention to the nature of the materials of which made-land is formed, watchfulness to prevent all accumulations of putrescent vegetable matter, and a regulated quarantine of such vessels as arrive in a foul state. But we were not a little surprized to find the following among those recommendations.

'11th. It is respectfully recommended that the following laws be repealed; first, that restricting hogs from running at large; secondly, that which makes it penal to throw kitchen offals into the street.'

It might have been supposed that the experience of New York would be thought sufficient to show the impolicy of trusting the duties of scavengers to swine. In February an ordinance was passed forming a new board of health, and giving them new powers; and embracing most of the provisions recommended by the district medical society, except that respecting the hogs running at large.

Of the fever in the other cities of the United States the last season, we have no very particular accounts. There were a few cases in Philadelphia, notwithstanding the rigid system of exclusion by which it was attempted to prevent its entrance. It also prevailed in Charleston and Savannah, but in a degree much less destructive than in many former years. In both these cities the fact of its domestic origin has long been known and acknowledged; and their precau-

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tionary measures are founded upon this belief. It is no slight confirmation of the truth of this opinion, that it has been first established in those parts of our country where the disease has been the longest and most frequently prevalent.

At Mobile the yellow fever was more destructive in its ravages, in proportion to the population, than perhaps it has ever been in any other place in the country. The committee appointed after its termination to investigate the causes and extent of the sickness, confidently referred it to the contamination of the atmosphere by the putrefaction of vegetable substances, abundant sources of which they pointed out. The fever was also severely felt at New Orleans. But the opposite opinion has been adopted respecting its origin. The governor of Louisiana is so convinced of its foreign origin, that he has called upon the legislature to enact new and more effectual laws to prevent its importation. In his message to that body he says, 'Now that the great question, whether the disease be of a contagious nature, appears decided affirmatively, by the circumstance of the malady having been carried by the steam-boats to the highest situations bordering on the Mississippi, the legislature can no longer hesitate or doubt.' As if it were impossible to suppose, that the state of a steam boat, so favourable to putrefaction, whenever any filth is allowed to accumulate, could be such as to generate the disease within itself, especially when aided by the effluvia from the low and marshy banks of the Mississippi. And this is the circumstance which is so conclusive as to be alone sufficient to decide this 'great question.' How safe must be the citizens of Louisiana, so long as they continue under the protection of laws enacted in a spirit of such wisdom!

On examining the strong proofs that the yellow fever is not a contagious disease, the question naturally enough arises, how is it that circumstances so often favour the impression which is so extensively diffused that it is imported? This question is not difficult to be answered. In the first place it must be observed, that in most of our towns, the parts which are the most exposed to an accumulation of materials for putrefaction are those which are contiguous to the wharfs. The wharfs themselves and the made-land in their vicinity are often filled up in part with vegetable materials, which soon putrefy; and the classes of people who generally crowd the buildings near them are such as from their habits and modes

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of living, are peculiarly liable to generate diseases among them. Hence when an epidemic appears, the very ready communication between such vessels as may arrive, and the places where from local causes it is most likely to begin, easily creates a doubt as to its origin. This is not indeed the case in Boston; for here the principal seat of the fever has always been at a little distance from the principal wharfs. And it is worthy of remark that in neither of our epidemics has any mode of foreign importation been pointed out, which rested even on plausible ground.

It is a fact perfectly familiar to any one who is acquainted with the laws of the animal economy, that the human system may, by a gradual application, become accustomed to a poison so as to resist its action, though such poison be much more powerful than another, to which it readily yields if suddenly applied. Thus a person who has long been accustomed to an impure atmosphere, suffers very little from it, while another, who only visits him for a short time, is made sick by the impurity. Even a change from one species of impure air to another, although both may be equally offensive in themselves, disposes a person to receive a disease much more readily, than if he had continued in the atmosphere to which his system had become habituated.

We have shown, we think conclusively, that the yellow fever may be produced by a concurrence of causes of domestic origin. Let us suppose, that after these causes have been in operation, so as to produce a very strong predisposition to disease, but before the disease has actually begun in so severe a form as to occasion alarm, a ship arrives in a foul and putrid state, like that of the Ten Brothers, when she came into Boston harbour the last summer. Here the inhabitants of the infected spot and the persons on board the ship have, each among themselves, sufficient cause of disease, which is almost ready to break out of itself, but is resisted for the present by their systems having become accustomed each to their own poison. But let a communication be opened between them, and each will give the disease to the other. The inhabitants of the town imbibe the disease, by going on board the ship, and the persons from the ship, by going into the town. These, however, are not the only persons affected. The same causes being continued, the disease would have been very soon occasioned by the mere progress of time, if no ship had

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arrived ; and this is of course not prevented by its arrival. A much greater effect is now given to these causes, by the alarm which the first cases have produced ; for it is well known, that fear is a most powerful predisposing cause of disease.

Nearly the same consequences would follow, if a healthy ship were to arrive at the time we have supposed. The persons from the ship, in this case, being unaccustomed to the sickly atmosphere, would be the first to feel its effects ; they would thus be the first victims of a disease, which, from the circumstances just mentioned, would soon extend to others. It is easy to see that the progress of disease in these cases may give rise to appearances of contagion, when in fact there is *no contagion in the case.*

In all our large towns vessels are arriving daily from foreign ports, and their passengers and crews mixing freely with the inhabitants. It is not therefore improbable, that they do sometimes arrive under circumstances such as we have supposed, and thus are subjected to a false charge of having imported a contagious disease. Had the ship Ten Brothers arrived at a wharf near Fort-hill and three or four weeks earlier than she did arrive, it would have been hardly possible to convince our citizens that we did not owe all our fever of the last season to her, although no other circumstance had occurred different from what actually took place.

The practical effects of trusting to the doctrine of the contagion of yellow fever seem heretofore to have been entirely overlooked in the discussion of this question. Much has been said of the danger of abandoning the precautionary measures against importation ; but we hear little or nothing of the evils of these measures themselves, except as commercial restraints, nor of the danger of confiding in them. If it were the only objection to our quarantine regulations, as they at present exist, that they do no good, we might here drop the subject, and leave it to commercial men to decide how long they will submit to the inconveniences and embarrassments of a system, which at best is totally useless. But its injury to commerce is one of the least of the objections to the present quarantine system. It is fraught with evils scarcely less serious, than those which it was intended to remedy.

The selection of places for the performance of quarantine being made only with reference to their general healthiness

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and the convenience of their situation, it may happen that the quarantine ground itself shall become a source of disease. Although it is now well established that the yellow fever is a local disease, and some of its causes are well known; yet we are by no means sure that all of them are. The experience of Boston has shown that the general healthiness of a place, and its freedom from gross impurities, are not full security against its originating this disease. If a place, thus circumstanced, were to be made the seat of quarantine regulations, it is easy to perceive the danger of those, who are so unfortunate as to be subjected to them. In this case, as it is only those, who are suspected of having been exposed to the operation of contagion, that are placed under quarantine, the occurrence of disease in them would be regarded as proof of the justness of the suspicion. This is not a mere idle fear. There is much reason to apprehend that one of our sister cities has been thus unfortunate in the selection of her quarantine ground; and that not a little of the confidence in the belief among her citizens of the importation of the disease, has arisen from the cases which originated there.

An evil of a more general occurrence, resulting from our present quarantine system, is that the measures of precaution being directed exclusively against one object of apprehension, and this a groundless one, the true causes of disease are neglected, or at least are not sufficiently provided against. It is true, that the advocates of contagion enjoin some attention to be paid to cleansing the streets and yards of our cities; but they take away the most powerful motive of watchfulness, when they declare that there is no danger of the appearance of the disease, so long as the avenues to its importation are effectually closed. The accumulation of filth, however, is far from being the only, or even the principal domestic cause of yellow fever; although it is the only one which receives any attention under our present system of public health. It is of great importance that effectual care be taken, in filling up new streets and wharfs, to prevent its being done with corruptible materials, which would become the sources of future epidemics. All this is now left to chance, or to the convenience of individuals.

Even the danger of importation of yellow fever, in the only mode by which it can take place, is left unprovided for. It ought never to be forgotten, until a thorough and radical

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reform is effected in our quarantine system, that in Boston we owe every case of disease, which the last summer arose from the ship Ten Brothers, exclusively to the belief of our health officers, that the yellow fever is contagious. If they had not been led astray by this spectre of the imagination, they would never have suffered a ship in so foul and dangerous a state, to approach our wharfs. The board of health state, 'that the quarantine committee, assistant physician, and other officers of the board, in all their conduct relative to said ship and cargo, have acted faithfully, and with a proper regard to the preservation of the health and safety of the citizens.' We doubt not the honesty of their belief, that they had guarded against all the dangers of the case. But their ignorance of the real causes of disease soon spread alarm, and sickness, and death in every direction. They sought for contagion and found none; for no contagion was there. And they looked no farther. Had they sought any other source of disease, the dullest penetration could not but have found it in abundance.

The effect of a belief of contagion in yellow fever is equally injurious on the measures which ought to be adopted for checking the progress of an epidemic after it has begun. In most, if not all, of our cities, the parts which are liable to an attack of the fever form but a small proportion of the whole. A certain and effectual check may therefore be put to the progress of the disease, by a speedy removal of all the inhabitants from the sickly portions. The sick, as well as those in health, ought to be immediately removed, since it is now fully established, that they will not convey the disease to others. It is happy for the inhabitants of New York, that their board of health acted upon this principle, notwithstanding their apparent belief in the doctrine of contagion. Baltimore has much to regret that her health officers had not the power to do the same thing; but she has provided for it in future. Boston has something to answer for, that no steps were taken to remove the inhabitants of the sickly district.

The sufferings of sick families and individuals, in consequence of the dread of contagion, are often extremely distressing. We have seen how easy it is to avoid all the danger, by removing them to a healthy situation. Yet there were instances in Boston the last summer, where one after another in a family was suffered to sicken and die, with scarcely a

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friend to administer the medicine which was prescribed by the physician. Neighbours were afraid to aid each other, although in reality exposed to the same common danger; and brother was afraid to visit brother. Strangers closed the eyes of the dying, and hurried them to the grave, as soon as the last breath was drawn. And why was this,—in a town where so much benevolence and philanthropy are evinced on a thousand far less urgent occasions? It was because this panic fear of contagion had fallen upon us, and possessed the minds of men with a sense of danger to be incurred in visiting the sick, which not even the pathetic call of relations and friends, in want and dying, was powerful enough to overcome.

It is an inquiry of vast importance, what course of measures is best adapted to preserve the public health, and guard against the inroads of epidemic diseases? It is evident that a system which was formed under the influence of an erroneous opinion as to the kind of dangers to be averted, cannot be well suited to the purposes for which it was designed. A system of quarantine which was devised to protect us from the attacks of a contagious disease, is not a protection against one which is not contagious. Yet we would not entirely reject the quarantine system; although the modifications and changes, which it would require to render it effectual, would so alter its features as to render it almost a new one.

A single circumstance will show the impolicy and absurdity of the quarantine laws of Boston, as they now stand. If a vessel arrive during the summer months, between the 20th of May and the 20th of October, from one of the West India Islands, after a passage of less than twenty two days, coming from a healthy port, with a crew in health, and a cargo in a fresh and sound state, she is detained at quarantine until twenty five days are completed from the time of her sailing. Her cargo in the mean time, if composed of fruits or other perishable articles, is suffering from the detention, and she leaves the quarantine ground in a much worse state than she entered it. But suppose this vessel, instead of being carried forward by refreshing and invigorating breezes, to have been retarded by calms and fogs, until twenty-three days have expired, or any longer time, her cargo injured by the length of time and the badness of the weather, so as to be in a putrid and offensive state, and she will be detained but three days at quarantine, before she is permitted to discharge her

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cargo in any part of the town. The circumstance which should operate as a motive for additional precautions is the reason for diminishing them, and that which is the best ground for safety is made the reason for increasing them.

The only object to which the restrictions of quarantine are now applied, is to guard against the introduction of disease by contagion. We have seen that the principal object to which they ought to be applied, is to prevent the introduction of noxious matter from vessels or their cargoes, which are in a foul and unhealthy state. The application of quarantine laws ought not therefore to be regulated in reference to the places from which vessels arrive, but by the state in which they arrive. There is no cause for detaining a ship, on account of the danger of yellow fever, which is itself in a pure and healthful state, from whatever port she may have sailed, nor however sickly that place may have been. On the other hand, no ship that is foul and offensive, or that has a cargo in a putrid state, although the place from which she sailed, or the persons on board be ever so free from sickness, ought to be permitted to approach the town, until she has been thoroughly cleansed and purified. Yet in this case there is no good reason for detaining the passengers and crew in quarantine. Whatever danger they may have incurred of being attacked by disease, even after they leave the ship, there is no fear of their transmitting the danger to others.

The precautions against infection from the impurities of vessels, and the putrefaction of the perishable parts of their cargoes, ought not to be limited to the restraints at quarantine. Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of health officers, vessels will sometimes be permitted to pass without suspicion, whose cargoes, or some parts of them, are in a state liable to produce disease; or by a long detention on board, some articles may have become putrid after having passed a sufficient examination at quarantine. There ought, therefore, to be a rigorous system of inspection, during the summer and autumn, into the state of every ship which has a cargo of a perishable nature, while she is discharging. In this manner, the danger, when it exists, will be detected, before it can have extended to any considerable number of persons, and will be promptly removed.

As to the means of purifying vessels and articles which are in the condition here supposed, and of restoring them to

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a healthful state, much remains to be learned, for little is at present known. The deleterious influence of the putrid effluvia is checked and destroyed by frost; but whether we have any artificial means of doing it is at best doubtful.

The regulation of quarantine forms but a small part of the duties which belong to a well ordered system of public health. Not only is there much to be done to guard against the various domestic sources of disease, but much depends upon the wisdom of the measures which are adopted to check the progress of sickness after it has begun. These measures should be prompt and decisive, for the evil gains ground with every delay. To effect this in a proper manner would require a board of health very differently constituted from that which superintends our health concerns. A board of twelve men partakes too much of the nature of a deliberative assembly to act with the promptitude and vigor, which the nature of the case often demands. Besides, the responsibility is too much divided. Twelve men will often do badly, what three of the same men would do in a much better manner. Three or five men, we are persuaded, would perform all the duties which devolve upon this board, in a manner much more satisfactory to themselves and to the public, than it is possible for our present number to do it. These men ought to receive salaries proportioned to the importance of the services expected from them, and the responsibility of the office. There are very few men, whose time is of any value, who can afford to devote so much of that time to the public service, as the duties of this office require, without receiving some compensation for it. The new ordinance establishing a board of health, and defining their duties at Baltimore, provides for the appointment of three commissioners of health, with an annual salary of six hundred dollars each, and a consulting physician with a salary of five hundred dollars. These four officers together constitute the board of health. But they have each separate duties to perform; the commissioners in their several districts, and the physician such as appertain peculiarly to his profession. Upon him it devolves to ascertain the existence of such diseases, as may require the attention of the board, to point out proper measures to arrest their progress, and to decide any other medical question that may come before them.

This appointment of a physician as part of the board, but

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with distinct powers and duties in matters strictly professional, is deserving of particular attention. It places the responsibility of deciding the medical questions, which often occur, where it ought to be. It is not to be supposed that men, who are not at all acquainted with the science of medicine, are capable of deciding these questions from their own knowledge; and they ought not to be required to decide them upon the authority of others. It is a great defect in our present system that we have no provision for this case. The appointment of a physician as a subordinate officer of the board does not supply the deficiency; because, as he is not a responsible officer, in respect to the public, his opinions are never published on his own authority.

It is another defect in our system, that we have no provision for obtaining the opinions of the practising physicians in town, of the cases which come under their care. A physician who attends constantly upon a patient has a much better opportunity to judge correctly of the character of the disease, than another, who only makes a single visit for the purpose of ascertaining it. In the first cases of the fever of the last summer, our board of health pronounced an opinion upon the disease and published it to the world, without having held any communication with either of the highly respected physicians who had attended in them, or with any physician who had seen them before death.

The physician of the board ought doubtless, in all important cases, to visit the patient, and give his opinion to the board. But he ought at least to confer with the attending physician, before he does it; and if circumstances admit of its they should go in company to the sick room. In case of a difference of opinion too, there is a delicacy to be observed towards the attending physician, which ought never to be neglected. His standing and influence with his patients and their friends, are his property, and should not be wantonly violated. It is not to be tolerated that a member or a physician of the board of health should enter the sick chamber, in the absence of the attending physician; and pronounce authoritatively that he has mistaken the nature of the case, that the disease is not what he has supposed it to be.

Much of the usefulness of the institutions for the preservation of the public health depends upon the confidence which is reposed in them and their officers by the public. In this

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respect we have been greatly deficient. It is said by the board of health, in reference to the sickness last year, that 'it is much to be regretted, that public opinion, *for a time*, was not more sufficiently regulated, by a confidence in the vigilance and exertions of those persons, whose peculiar duty it was to watch over the health of their fellow citizens.' Those who remember the first measures adopted by the board,—the attempt to cast an odium upon the conduct of some of our best and most distinguished physicians, because they expressed their honest and *well founded* opinion of the character of the disease,—and the complaints, because this opinion was given in answer to the anxious inquiries of the friends and neighbours of the dying, before it was communicated to the board, will not be at a loss to account for this want of confidence. It was not so much a distrust of 'the vigilance and exertions' of the board, as it was an apprehension that the extent of the danger was attempted to be concealed from the public.

It is the besetting sin of boards of health, to carry their guardianship too far; and ours has partaken deeply of the error. There has been much mystery and concealment in their conduct. They seemed to regard us common people as children, whom it was not safe to trust with a view of all the dangers by which we were surrounded. Even in that report which was avowedly intended as an explanation of all the circumstances relating to the disease from the ship Ten Brothers, the whole truth is not told us. We are permitted to trace each movement of the ship, by its date, until her arrival at quarantine, and again after she was ordered away from the wharf; but we must go elsewhere to learn that she lay at quarantine no more than three or four days. The important fact, that the ship which arrived at quarantine the 26th of July, came up to town the 1st of August is no where stated in that report. We would be far from imputing every obscurity in the style of the author of that report to a design to conceal the facts. But in this case there is such particular attention paid to dates in every other part of the report, and so much evident circumlocution to avoid mentioning them in this essential point, that we are forced to the suspicion that it was intentional.

There is no way to secure the confidence of the public, but by an openness of conduct to show them that they are

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not deceived. They must be themselves trusted with the whole extent of the evil and danger. If any part, however small, is kept back, and is afterwards discovered, they at once imagine that the half is not told them.

Whether it will ever be possible to guard so effectually against the causes of the yellow fever as to prevent its recurrence among us, cannot be determined. We have the more reason for earnestly desiring to do this, since the cold of our winters removes the partial protection which might otherwise be derived to the inhabitants of the exposed places from becoming accustomed to its atmosphere. These places, however, have hitherto been confined to so narrow limits, and the periods are so unfrequent when even these are affected, that we cannot but hope to find means of eradicating the power of producing the fatal poison.

ART. XXI.—*Trial of Stephen and Jesse Boorn, for the murder of Russell Colvin, before an adjourned term of the Supreme Court of Vermont, begun, &c. Oct. 26, A. D. 1819; to which is subjoined the particulars of the wonderful discovery thereafter of the said Colvin's being alive, &c.* Rutland, pp. 32.

THE mysterious circumstances of this case have made it the subject of much public attention. It will be one more added to the examples of erroneous convictions founded on circumstantial evidence; and wherever its fame may reach, it will probably be urged, in all future trials, as an argument for obstinate and undistinguishing scepticism. Such instances are unfortunate, for they tend to diminish our trust in the judicial investigations of crime, and thus increase the chance of escape to actual offenders. When we see men convicted, as were the Boorns, partly on their own confessions, for the supposed murder of one who still lived, and had passed several years at no great disance from the place of trial, we are ready to think, that there are no safe and adequate means of detecting the crimes, which no human eye beholds; and that in all capital convictions, there is the greatest danger of involving the innocent in the fate of the guilty. Yet, when we consider how rare have been the instances, in which deliberate convictions upon competent testimony have fallen upon the guiltless, we shall find reason to conclude, that cas-

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ual exceptions ought not to shake our confidence in the general rules of evidence. Mistakes, it is true, may now and then be made. But it ought to be remembered, that positive testimony will deceive at least as often as circumstantial proof; and that the errors and frauds of witnesses are not less to be guarded against, than the imperfections of human reason, in estimating the weight of probabilities.

Great indeed should be the caution, when the life of the accused is to pay the forfeit of his guilt. But we ought not to demand that degree of certainty, which is not often to be expected in human affairs. To require it in the administration of criminal justice would be to dissolve society, and leave all crimes without restraint. 'If courts of justice were never to inflict punishment, where there was a possibility of the accused being innocent, no punishment would in any case be inflicted.' These are the words of that most zealous advocate of mild laws, Sir S. Romilly. The civilians hold a similar language, and even in capital cases allow to circumstances clearly indicating guilt all the effects of the fullest proof. The Judge, says Huber, may consider the crime to be sufficiently established,—'quando circumstantiæ factum immediatè præcedentes et consequentes ita reum premunt, ut tametsi corpus ipsum facti non extet probatum, sic tamen undique conclusum et coarctatum est, ut ab alio quam a reo perpetratum esse nequeat; certitudine tamen morali, non physica, quæ scilicet ejusmodi sit, ut contrarium plané sit impossibile.' (*Prælect. lib.* xxii, *tit.* 3.)

Yet in the civil, as well as in the common law, the rule is, 'præstare sontem dimitti, quam innocentem damnari.'

It has been urged, that circumstantial evidence is liable to a double uncertainty; first, to all the danger of falsehood in witnesses; and secondly, to all the mistakes that may be made in reasoning upon and comparing the circumstances supposed to be proved. But there is a fallacy in this. It is hardly possible for any human ingenuity to contrive a series of feigned circumstances, which will agree perfectly with one another, and with other circumstances. It requires a foresight and vigilance, for which few minds are competent. And most commonly, the best compacted edifices of falsehood are crumbled into dust at the touch of some stubborn truth, which the builder entirely overlooked. Besides, when different facts, testified to by different witnesses, form a connected chain, and

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when every new discovery falls easily in, and connects itself with what was before known, there remains hardly a possibility of imposture. A variety of circumstances, then, all concurring to fix the guilt upon the person accused, is a surer basis of conviction, than any declaration of a witness, however positive, to the actual perpetration of the crime, unless that declaration be itself confirmed by collateral evidence. It will happen in most cases that the circumstances are proved by many witnesses, to whom no suspicion of mistake or fraud can attach; by disinterested spectators, or by those, whose duty has called them to the scene. The slightest falsehood would be instantly detected and exposed. The secrecy which envelops the crime cannot extend to many previous and subsequent facts, which, though not necessarily connected with it, may confirm or refute the allegations of the accuser or accused. An example perhaps may best illustrate our meaning. Huber (*Prælect. lib.* xxii, *tit.* 3, *n.* 4,) states the case of one Castello, who, after residing for some time at Harlingen, went out at midnight from his lodgings on a night in which a house in that city was entered through the windows, and a large sum of silver money was stolen and carried away. This man with a chest and a crowded portmanteau went early in the morning into a passage boat, and there remained for an entire hour before the usual time of departure, which he had not been known to do before, his practice having been, if he happened to arrive before the time, to stay at the inn. He now sat with his face muffled, and, contrary to custom, kept near to his chest and portmanteau. During the passage, he was anxious, and so repeatedly inquired, how soon they should reach Lewarden, as to be troublesome to the sailors. If any one touched his portmanteau, he was impatient, and sharply forbade him. Having gone from Lewarden to Workum, he was there arrested with all the money stolen that night. When questioned how he came by the money, he answered that it was given to him by a Frenchman at Lewarden. Now here is no positive evidence of Castello's having committed the crime; but there are circumstances, both before and after the robbery, all of them such as must have been known to many persons, far more satisfactory than the unsupported testimony of one or two witnesses, that they saw him enter the house, and come from it again with the money.

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Cicero relates a case in which the conclusion drawn from a single circumstance saved two young men from a most ignominious condemnation. 'Cloelius, a man of some note, retired to rest in the same chamber with two youths, his sons, and was found in the morning murdered. There was no one, whether bond or free, that with the least reason could be suspected of the crime; and the two sons, though they lay so near, declared that they had perceived nothing. They were accordingly accused of parricide. What then? The transaction was suspicious. Was it to be believed, that neither of them knew what happened? Was it probable, that any one dared to enter the chamber at a time, when there were in it two young men, sons of the person intended to be murdered, who were able both to discover the attempt, and to defend him? There was besides no one else, that could be suspected. Yet, when it was clearly shown, that the young men, on the opening of the door, were found fast asleep, they were acquitted, and discharged from all suspicion; for it was thought impossible, that any one could commit a crime so unnatural and cruel and immediately sleep; but that a man thus atrociously guilty would not only be unable to rest in quiet, but even to breathe without fear.' These examples show the importance of circumstances in the discovery of truth. And it ought not to be forgotten, that circumstances are often the only safeguard of the innocent against malicious accusation.

But to remove as far as possible the danger of mistake, various limitations and restrictions have been adopted which experience has proved to be of great utility, in guarding the mind from a too ready acquiescence in proof of this nature. It is probable, that in most of the remarkable examples so often quoted, could the circumstances be fully known, it would appear, that some one of these rules had been violated. We shall not attempt to enumerate these salutary principles of evidence. The judicious caution of Lord Hale, however, is too applicable to the case of the Boorns to be omitted. 'I would never,' says he, 'convict any person of murder, or manslaughter, unless the fact were proved to be done, or at least the body found.' This also is the rule of the civil law. 'Ante omnia enim de corpore delicti constare, et inquiri debet.'* Had this rule been strictly adhered to, it is probable

* *Van Leeuwen. Cens. For.*

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that the mistake in this case would not have happened. The same remark will apply to some of the other cases of conviction of the innocent, which are so often urged against circumstantial evidence.

The *motive* is another ingredient in the composition of crime, the presence or absence of which ought to have great influence in determining the weight, which should be given to collateral facts. 'Neminem ne minimum quidem maleficium sine causa admittere'* is the counsel of experience and common sense. No man was ever wicked merely for the sake of being so. If then, upon a diligent examination of the case, there appears no inducement for the party accused to commit the deed, and no probability of its being the effect of a sudden passion, the strongest and most complete evidence should be required to produce conviction.

From the very imperfect report of the trial of the Boorns, which is now before us, it would seem, that their conviction was grounded chiefly on their voluntary confessions. One of these confessions was testified to be one, who slept in the same room with Jesse Boorn in prison. It was said to have been made in the night, when Jesse awoke, appeared much disturbed, and made the disclosure. The other confession was in writing, and was rejected by the court, but afterwards called for by the prisoners' counsel, to explain the oral testimony of a witness, who related a subsequent conversation of Stephen Boorn with him. Both these disclosures describe minutely the manner of the death, and the disposal of the body; its being buried, and the remains twice removed; and various other particulars of the transaction. There are differences between them, and it is probable that Jesse's confession was made with the purpose of screening himself and casting the guilt on his brother, and that Stephen's, which was made afterwards, was designed to save them all from the punishment of death, and to substitute that of manslaughter. That some promises and inducements were held out to obtain written confessions, was proved; and persuasion at least had been used, before the other was made.

It is doubtless, a very common opinion that the confession of the party accused is the highest species of proof. 'Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee,' is the process which most men prefer to all others. There is something gratify-

* Cic. pro Sex. Ros. Amer. c. 26.

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ing in the thought of making the party become his own accuser, and leaving to his judges only the office of pronouncing sentence. It takes, as it is supposed, all the responsibility from the ministers of justice, and puts a stop to all complaint. But this is far from being the light in which confessions ought to be regarded by the tribunals for the prosecution of crimes. A judicial confession, made and persisted in understandingly and soberly before a competent judge, is indeed conclusive. But an extrajudicial and voluntary avowal of guilt is ever to be received with great caution, and is entirely open to contradiction or explanation. It furnishes evidence against the accused in proportion to the fairness and deliberation with which it is made and no farther. It must be the voluntary act of the prisoner, unmoved by promises or threats; and great allowance is always to be made for the state of mind produced by the situation in which he is placed. It is to be scrutinized with the especial view to guard courts and judges against being made instruments of self-murder; for instances have occurred not unfrequently of crimes actually committed or falsely avowed with this horrible design. 'The confession of a criminal,' says Eden,* 'when taken even before a magistrate, can rarely be turned against him without perverting the end for which he must be supposed to have made it. Besides we have known instances of murder avowed, which never were committed; of things confessed to have been stolen, which never had quitted the possession of the owner.'

Non auditur perire volens is therefore the maxim of the law. Even the plea of *guilty* is never recorded, till after repeated warnings and admonitions, and an inquisition into the prisoner's state of mind.

In France, before the revolution, an extrajudicial confession was regarded only as inchoate or initiatory proof, and was not alone sufficient to convict. It might be enough, if supported by other proof, to subject the party to the *question* or torture, as long as that horrible mode of discovering crimes was practised; but even the avowal made under torture might afterwards be revoked without incurring additional guilt, 'it being presumed that the violence of the pain may have made the accused declare what was not true.' And by that law, a confession, to be used against the person making

* Penal Laws, 167.

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it, 'must be made freely by a person competent to make it, must be certain and determinate, and must concern a fact not evidently false.'

There is the greatest reason for this cautious reception of the confessions of criminals, for it is proved by many melancholy instances, that such confessions often proceed from fear, melancholy, disgust of life, or other causes, which disturb and delude the imagination. How common and how absurd were confessions of sorcery in former times! The condemnations for this crime, which took place in New England in 1692, are well known to have been generally preceded by acknowledgments of the persons accused. Many recanted, but so strong was the popular delusion, that others died confessed sorcerers.* Nor has this folly been confined to our own country, or to those times. 'Nothing,' says Eden, 'was more common in the beginning of the last century, than confessions of witchcraft.' Sir James Melville mentions several instances in the prosecution of Earl Bothwell; and though rather a sceptical man, was candid enough to believe them. The poor women were accordingly burned, and posterity was furnished with a very accurate description of the devil, who is said to have appeared 'in a black gown, with a black hat on his head, in the attitude of preaching.'

France too shared in this delusion. The case of Magdeleine de la Palud, which occurred in 1653, may be selected for its singular interest. This unfortunate lady, it seems, having been left with an abundant patrimony, and possessed of a rare beauty, devoted herself to acts of piety, and of the most zealous charity. She erected a chapel on her estate, and furnished it with the most precious relics. Her devotion was constant, and had all the marks of unfeigned sincerity. She visited and relieved the sick for many miles around her; went to all the neighbouring villages and instituted schools in them for the instruction of the young; she herself was unwearied in giving lessons of piety and virtue to the poor, and relieving their wants by her personal attention. There was no act of christian sympathy, which she did not habitually practise; no virtue, which was not displayed in her life; no self-denial, which seemed too great for her benevolent zeal. If any one might hope to be universally loved and admired, it seemed to be Magdeleine de la Palud. But a peasant girl

* See Hutchinson's Hist. vol. ii, p. 39.

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passing her chapel heard her mutter some unintelligible words; she attempted to sprinkle herself with the consecrated water, and she felt an invisible hand repel her from the basin. Instantly she was seized with such feebleness as hardly to permit her to walk. She was afflicted with strange disorders, and frequent convulsions. The most learned physicians were requested to examine and report upon her case; and after many visits and consultations, they decided that the peasant girl was possessed by an evil demon. The girl's declaration pointed out Magdeleine as the author of the mischief. It was currently believed, that this lady had been espoused by Gaufridy, who a little time before had been clearly proved to be an evil spirit, and was called the Prince. She was arrested, imprisoned, interrogated; her chapel searched and all her effects seized; and a process instituted against her as a witch. She confessed, 'that she had been possessed of a demon, but declared that it was without her consent, and that no mark had ever been impressed upon her person.' At another examination, 'she admitted, that an angel dressed in white and red had conversed with her; and she could not tell but he might have been a bad angel, who had transformed himself into an angel of light.' It was in vain that Magdeleine alleged her piety and her alms; in vain that she appealed to the unspotted purity of her life. These acts, which under other circumstances would have procured her the honours of a saint, now caused her to be treated as a hypocrite. She was pursued with a more furious zeal on account of the cloak of sanctity under which it was supposed she had attempted to hide her diabolical practices. She was finally sentenced 'to be and remain shut up within four walls, there to pass the remainder of her days.'

The epidemic of witchcraft is not likely to recur, but the same dread of popular resentment may still in some cases induce suspected persons to acknowledge crimes, of which they were never guilty.

Nor is it only when there is some strong and general persuasion of plots or sorcery, of conspiracies among evil men or evil spirits, that accused persons are driven to the madness of bearing false witness against themselves—'suo se confessione ultro jugulantes.' History furnishes us with many other cases. The few we shall produce are from the writers of the civil law.

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'Nor are examples wanting,' says Van Leeuwen,* 'of innocent persons rashly condemned on their mere confession, whose innocence has afterwards been made manifest. Such an instance is recorded by Annæus Robertus (Rer. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 4.) in the case of a countryman. A widow woman, who had for a long time been absent from her home, without being seen or heard of in the neighbourhood, was commonly believed to have been murdered by some ruffian, and the body concealed. Just at this time the countryman was found by the magistrate in his search after the murderer lurking in a marsh, and trembling with amazement and fear. He was arrested on suspicion, dragged before the judges, and without any terror of *the question*, or any anguish of torture, but either from despair, or else from a carelessness of his safety and a willingness to perish, acknowledged the crime, was convicted on his confession, and condemned to the gallows. Two years afterwards the return of the widow woman, not only alive, but without having received so much as a wound, proved the innocence of this unhappy man.'

Not unlike this is the case of a youth at Amsterdam, who, after a murder had taken place in the night, was found in a state of intoxication stretched upon the bench of a tavern, with a bloody knife rolled up and concealed in his clothes. He was apprehended, subjected on this evidence to torture, and persuading himself that in his drunkenness he had unconsciously committed the act, he confessed the crime, and was condemned to death. Afterwards the real perpetrator being arrested for some other crimes, declared himself to be the guilty person.'

Heineccius in a treatise 'upon the duties of judges in respect to the confessions of criminals,' tells us of one, 'who, unsuspected of any crime, voluntarily confessed that he had formed a league with an evil spirit. Being, consequently, in the year 1695, summoned before the tribunals, not only did he avow that league, but accused himself of the most horrible crimes committed in company with his master. He declared that, transforming himself into various shapes, he had murdered men, robbed dwellings, and perpetrated other enormities. He said that in the form of an apple, he had been thrown by his master through the window into a dwelling-house, and there had either torn in pieces the inhabitants

* Cens. For. par. 2, lib. ii. cap. 7.

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who ate of the apple, or by the part which they had left being suddenly changed to flesh before their eyes, had so terrified them, that they soon after died of the fright. He added, that sometimes taking the shape of a bird, he had snatched infants from their cradles, and plundered houses, and at last, when he was tired of doing mischief, had lain safe in his master's ear, who meanwhile had turned himself into an ass. He told numberless other stories, equally absurd, which may be passed over. But when the magistrate of the county, where this second Proteus declared that he had slain so many men, carried away so many children, and committed so many thefts, was directed to inquire more carefully whether such things had really happened, the whole vanished into smoke, and this self accused thief declared, that he had had no other object, than by this daring falsehood to gain celebrity to his name'

The same author adds another example, which is more immediately to our purpose. 'In one of the villages of Friesland a woman died suddenly, and common fame cast upon her husband the suspicion of having poisoned her. He was imprisoned, and voluntarily confessed, that he had given to his wife poison, which he bought of an apothecary at Dockum mixed with a cake; that immediately after taking it, she complained of being ill, and after a fruitless attempt to produce vomiting, expired in great pain about four o'clock in the morning. He added various circumstances attending the crime, and among them, that he had buried a part of the poison, wrapped in paper and tied with thread, in a field adjoining his house, and covered the place with green turf. Yet when the circumstances were carefully inquired into, all or most of his representations were found to be false. The physicians found no marks of poison in the body, none was bought of the apothecary named by the accused, nor could any remains of the poison be found in the field, though the man himself was carried into it, and examined almost every sod.'

Examples of this sort abundantly justify the humane caution of the civil law, in regarding the confession of the criminal as insufficient of itself to authorize a capital conviction. The common law admits the confession in evidence, if made freely, and in such manner that there can be no suspicion of the party's having been induced by persuasions, promises,

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or threats. It may still be contradicted, and as in the civil law, 'tantum præsumptio vel gravior vel levior pro circumstantiarum varietate contra confitentem nascitur, revocarique potest usque ad litem contestatam.' But the condition before mentioned should always be strictly required, before condemnation is passed; namely, that the fact itself, which is the substance of the crime, should satisfactorily be proved. In the Jewish law, the confession of the accused was considered as equivalent to the testimony of two witnesses, required in other cases. Thus Joshua condemned Achan upon his confession, but not before he had sent messengers to Achan's tent to ascertain the truth of his confession in respect to the embezzled spoils,—'and behold it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it.'* So when David said to the Amalekite youth, 'thy blood be upon thy head; for thy mouth hath testified against thee,'† it was certain, that Saul had been slain.

Justice Foster‡ contends strongly against the admission of any confession in evidence, unless 'made during the solemnity of an examination before a magistrate, or person having authority to take it; when the party may be presumed to be properly upon his guard, and apprized of the danger he standeth in.'—'For,' he adds, 'hasty confessions, made to persons having no authority to examine, are the weakest and most suspicious of all evidence. Proof may be too easily procured, words are often misreported, whether through ignorance, inattention, or malice, it mattereth not to the defendant; he is equally affected in either case; and they are extremely liable to misconstruction; and withal the evidence is not, in the ordinary course of things, to be disproved by that sort of negative evidence, by which the proof of plain facts may be and often is confronted.'

It would be difficult to answer this reasoning; and it ought at least to prevail so far as to induce the tribunals where criminal justice is dispensed, to be on their guard against that dangerous error, which inclines us to construe whatever admissions the accused may have made, most strongly against himself; and in some measure to triumph in his self-condemnation. Let them be careful how they exclaim upon such occasions, 'what need have we of any further witness?'

* Josh. vii. 22. † 2 Sam. i. 16. ‡ Disc. of High Treason, ch. 3.

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But it would be hardly less unfortunate, if examples like that of Russell Colvin should produce hesitation and timidity, instead of caution. When properly considered, this case is far from furnishing any good reason for doubting conclusions founded on the long established rules of evidence, applied deliberately, and with the desire rather to acquit, than to condemn.

ORIGINAL MISCELLANY.

[We take pleasure in the opportunity of laying before our readers the following extract from the journal, kept by a friend in a tour through Greece last summer. Our readers, who are acquainted with the books of the travellers in Greece, will see that most of the statistical details contained in this extract are derived from original sources and personal inquiry on the spot. We are also happy in being able to announce, that a work on the Statistics of Italy, composed from very ample original materials, collected in the years 1818 and 1819 in that country, will appear in the course of the ensuing season, from the author of the following article.]

VISIT TO JOANNINA AND ALI PASHA.

Corfu, April 8, 1819.

The boat, which was to take us over to the Albanian coast, was rowed by four men dressed in the Greek dress. The pilot was a Neapolitan, who spoke English and French. He had been in the service of Murat, but was taken prisoner at the time of his overthrow, and had been suffered to have his liberty, only on condition of leaving the kingdom of Naples forever. He had been in St. Domingo, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; and he is now employed by the government of the Ionian Isles. But one needs not come as far as the sea in which the island of Ulysses stands, to find men of all countries, condemned to long and wide wanderings on the earth, and consuming among strangers, far from their homes, an uncertain and wearisome existence. Indeed, it is given to very few to repose under the shade of their own beech-tree, and cause the woods to resound with the name of the beautiful Amaryllis. M. de Chateaubriand found, in a convent at Bethlehem, a poor monk from Brittany in France. This unhappy man said to him, 'who now remembers me in my

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native country? I hope to obtain through the merit of our Saviour's manger, the power of dying here without giving trouble to any one, and without thinking of a land, in which I am forgotten.' By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, and wept, when we remembered Zion.

Our interpreter sat in the head of the boat. An Athenian by birth, he had followed a British officer to Egypt, at the time of the invasion of that country by the French. He had married and buried one wife in Sicily, and at last had established his little bivouac in Corfu, where he lost no time in marrying another wife. This poor fellow was observed to have a very disconsolate air. I know not if it came from sea-sickness, or an unwillingness to leave his wife and country. At any rate, to us, who were then so far from our native village, who had sojourned so long in the land that knew us not, and who were then about to undertake a pilgrimage of infinite hardship, if not of much real danger, it was truly refreshing to see the eye, even of this poor Greek, moisten at those thoughts, which so often come to weigh heavy upon the heart of the traveller. It was about 1 o'clock when we passed the high citadel of Corfu, aërias Phœacum arces, as Virgil calls it. We steered for Sagada, directly across the bay, that separates Albania from the capital of the Ionian Isles, about twelve miles distant. The first sounds we heard from the shores of Greece were the bells of goats, coming down at night-fall from the mountains. Soon after we saw the Greek shepherd boys, with those shaggy great coats, which have been already so much famed, both in prose and rhyme, thrown over their shoulders. At this moment we rowed into a little bay, where there were four or five small Greek boats, a small wharf, and two wooden sheds. These sheds were the custom-house and the habitation of a score or two of Greeks and Albanians, who were standing on the shore. The health officer, who had come with us from Corfu, to prevent all communication between the crew of the boat and the shore, threw upon the beach the letter which had been given us by the Albanian Resident in that Island. Whereupon, a tall, lean, broad-shouldered man, a small red scull-cap upon his head, a dirty sheep-skin over his shoulders, two long pistols and a long dagger thrust into his girdle, and indulging himself in no sort of covering, either for his legs or feet, though he was an officer, and pretended to be a descendant of the Macedonians, and moreover

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it was then night, and the snow was upon the tops of the mountains, came forth from the multitude, took up our despatch from the ground, and forthwith departed with it to the shed. Soon after another shaven head, also with a red cap upon it, thrust itself out of a hole in the shed, and cried out to the Franks to present themselves. We were accordingly marshalled into the presence of the aga; the room was raised a few steps from the ground, small, black with smoke, and standing in no want of windows for the admission either of air or light. Several of the coarse muskets of the country were hung on the walls; part of the floor was covered with a straw mat, and one corner of it with thin matrasses, upon which was spread a very gay carpet of various colours. There the aga had encamped, one leg drawn entirely under his body; and holding the great toe of his left foot in his right hand. There was a scribe seated cross-legged, upon the mat, writing with such eagerness, that he did not move his eyes, when we entered. It was a question of some difficulty, where we should bestow ourselves, inasmuch as no chance or peril in all our journeyings had hitherto called upon us to sit on our hams. But the aga, with infinite presence of mind, bethought himself of a large old trunk, that had probably been thrown ashore in the shipwreck of some Venetian argosy, and which doubtless contained, not only all the wardrobe of himself and garrison, and all the records of his office, but all the ammunition of his fortress. And I make bold to say, that among the Mahometans, who believe that no spark falls, but by the hand of Allah and the true prophet, no judicious traveller would sit of his own accord over a barrel of gunpowder. The Corfiote boat was by this time pulling out of the little bay, leaving us on the edge of this infected land, about which the states of Europe have set a relentless quarantine, an unknown language, a different dress, in the midst of a people, who shave their heads, sit upon their hams, and eat with their fingers. Here, of all nations, Franks are detested and feared, and the poor, despised christians, have no longer Areopagites cleaving unto them, and apostles, who, standing in the midst of Mars Hill, dare proclaim the true God to the surrounding unbelievers. You have now left the great resorts of travellers, those long caravans of pilgrims, not indeed bearing the cockle shell and palm branch, but galloping at a furious rate from one picture gallery to another,

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and changing their climate and their nation, almost at every change of their horses. You have left too those magnificent roads, over mountains, where legions of all nations have toiled and perished in all ages, but along which, man, not succeeding after all in overcoming every obstacle of nature, has been forced to build houses of refuge, to shelter the unhappy traveller from the mountain storms. On the contrary, you have come to the impoverished and almost desolate regions of the earth. How often in these regions does one pass, upon the brow of a hill, the small grave-stones of a Christian or Mahometan burying ground, partly hidden by wild grass and shrubs, while not the least trace of a town or village can any where be seen; rough and narrow paths over steep mountains, and wretched Greek houses, in which there is neither chair, table, nor bed, and where the miserable mothers often shut the door upon your face, looking upon you as new oppressors, come to plunder them of their little substance. Bards may have been fed by bees, and prophets by ravens, but travellers——

A eunuch, with silver-wrought pistols and a long dagger in his girdle, offered us little cups of coffee, an unfailing hospitality in these countries. One never enters a house at all respectable, without this offering, and generally preceded by a small spoonful of sweetmeats. The richness of the cup and spoon depend upon the wealth of the house. In the mean time we remained on the ammunition chest. The aga discussed our plan of going to Joannína, the capital of Albania, three days' journey across the mountains, offered to give us beasts and a guard to conduct us that night to the first village on the road, five hours from his habitation, or he offered us any corner we might please to choose of his own dungeon, till the morning. But the night was not dark, the jackasses were braying in a neighbouring pasture, the tall Albanian stood ready to accompany us,—his long arquebuse hanging from his shoulders, large pistols in his girdle, and looking fierce enough to frighten all the forty thieves. Moreover, the reader may not be aware, that besides the aga and his secretary, and the Franks, there were the deputy collector, and his clerk, the black eunuch, and at least three soldiers, who had the best possible right to pass the night in the aga's drawing-room. But nobody worked so intensely as the hard-faced secretary. He wrote several papers, which the aga

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approved, taking off a ring from his little finger, covering it with ink, and then stamping it upon the paper. These seal-rings generally contain a short verse from the koran, or the name of the wearer; I believe never a device, particularly of any living thing, as all representations of men and animals are forbidden by the Mahometan law. One of the seals of Mahomet was a small round bit of iron, with this legend, 'Messenger of God.' By the Mahometan law, no instrument is legal, unless sealed, as well as signed. All men in authority in the East wear rings, and anciently, as well as at present, it was the universal manner of signing: 'And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman, the son of Hammedatha, the Agagite, the Jews' enemy; in the name of king Ahasuerus was it written and sealed with the king's ring.' Augustus Cesar used the head of the sphinx, as one of his seals, and the frog of Macænas was much dreaded in the Roman empire, calling upon the people for more money and tribute. The feudal lords, from ignorance of writing, made the sign of the cross; and I have seen an instrument, dated 1813, in the name of a Sicilian marquis, grown to man's estate, upon which this nobleman, being unable to write, made the sign of the cross.

While preparations were making for our departure, the aga undertook to regale us with a supper; a small wooden tray, about four inches high, was put upon the floor by his carpet, at which he, the scribe, and the two custom officers, were about to arrange themselves; so that one will conceive that few negotiations could have been more difficult, than for two Europeans to bestow their legs near enough the tray to have a reasonable share of the supper, and yet, whenever the spirit or the cramp prompted them, to thrust them to the full length of which Nature had seen fit to make them, without overturning the tray in front, or a collector or a scribe on one side. A barefooted slave brought a basin, furnished with a colander fitted into it, and in turn poured water over the hands of each person. One need not be reminded, that this is an ancient oriental, as well as Roman practice. The water, changed into wine at the marriage feast of Cana by the miracle of our Saviour, was put there 'after the manner of the purifying of the Jews.' But it is somewhat singular, that on another occasion the disciples should have departed from this domestic and universal custom. 'And when the Pharisees saw

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some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, unwashed hands, they found fault.' There are appropriate prayers by the Mahometan law to be said with the appointed ablutions. In washing his hands the strict Mussulman says, 'O my God! put me in the number of the penitent, of the purified, and of thy virtuous and just servants.' In washing his mouth and nostrils, he also prays, 'O my God! perfume me with the perfume, the good perfume of paradise; enrich me with my riches, and load me with thy delights.' For his face, 'O my God! whiten my face with thy splendor, in the days when all faces shall be whitened, and do not blacken it in the day when all faces shall be blackened.'

Our Albanians washed their mouths, and hands, and mustachios very faithfully, a circumstance not at all to be regretted, when one knows the manner, in which the dinner was about to be administered. The black eunuch, evidently the chief personage in all the domestic operations, first appeared with a small plate with a few dried figs upon it; he tore an orange into little bits, sprinkled sugar with his fingers upon each one, and then with a most entreating air offered it round the tray. Another barefooted boy, dirty in the extreme, gave a strong cordial, of the nature of anise-seed, all from the same glass. I wish to do justice to the hospitality of the aga, and the politeness of his eunuch, but it must strike every impartial person, that the beginning of a feast cannot be very cheering, when every man drinks from the same glass, and eats from the same fingers. But it is the custom of the country. The Grand Seignor, as well as the lowest slipper-maker, has never eaten but with his fingers, since the foundation of the Ottoman empire.* I recollect speaking about this matter a few days after to Prince Chanzerly at Joannina, one of the interpreters of the Pasha; he told me that his highness used a spoon or his fingers, according to his caprice, or the quality of the food. Stews, ragouts, and such dishes, he ate with a spoon; but legs of mutton, roasted turkeys, fowls, and all solid articles, he ate with his fingers. Our main supper was of mutton, cut up into little pieces, or as Sandys calls it, 'little gobbets, pricked on a prog of iron,' and hung in a

* It is a curious fact, which we have on the authority of the celebrated French savant Huet, that so late as the earlier part of the reign of Louis XIV in France 'every body eat soup out of the same dish, putting the spoon from the dish into the mouth, and from the mouth into the dish.'

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furnace, fish boiled, great bits of white cheese, and rice with milk. The eunuch, not altogether unlearned in the ways of other nations, had bestowed upon each of *us* a wooden plate, upon which the aga piled a great quantity of the fish and other matters, and then helped himself with his fingers to a *gobbet* of mutton; whereupon each Albanian instantly plunged his fingers into the dish, that pleased him, soaked his bread in the sauce, and continued to eat with good animation and appetite. A slave stood at the side with a great wooden bottle of wine and a solitary tumbler, which he constantly filled for the good Mussulmen. As the hearts of these kind Albanians happened to grow warm, they would seize a whole handful of the cheese, and plant it upon one's plate with a look, as if they thought that they were doing honour to their guest, and to their country too. The tray was then drawn into a corner, and while the barefooted boys were pouring forth another ablution, the eunuch, like a trusty steward, very industriously put into a great bag every thing, which had remained after dinner.

It was about 10 o'clock when we departed. The aga put his hand upon his heart, and prayed, 'that alla might protect us.' The caravan was formed of two horses, three jackasses, and six mules for our party, guard, and baggage; an ass for a Greek merchant of Joannina, returning from Corfu, and another for a young Venetian opera dancer, who was going to get half of the pay in advance, which the Pasha had promised to a company of Italians, to dance at the wedding of his grand-children. For the first mile, we went along the seashore, and after that we turned to the right, and entered a path over the mountains. This was the moment, for those who love to dream of their own country, then so far distant; or of the ancient glory of that famous land, upon which they were then treading; and what was its solitude, its waste, and its silence at that hour? After marching four or five hours, we entered a scattered village, and the guard got down and knocked with the end of his musket at the door of a small house. The whole caravan entered a narrow court yard, where there appeared a Greek, holding in his hand an earthen lamp, made precisely after the ancient form. In the room within, there was a small figure of the virgin Mary, with a lamp burning before it. Such an object is worth much to the feelings of a traveller; it awakens at least one

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emotion of sympathy and confidence in the poor, barbarous and strange people, among whom chance may have cast you. We had just left a land, where such objects are seen at the corner of every street, but where a thousand other circumstances make it clear at every moment, that one is not in a heathen and unknown land. In the main, it is all the land of the cross, of laws, regular government, and of uniform customs; so that such objects, inasmuch as they differ from one's habits and notions about the great concerns of life, may be rather revolting than touching. But now they formed the only link between us and the institutions of the countries we had left. The Turkish guard, Joannina merchant, and opera dancer drew off their boots, and with one accord, placed themselves under the protection of the virgin for the night. There was an evil, however, which we then, for the first time felt, and against which we were obliged to seek another sort of protection. I mention this night as the first of a joust, which we were forced to tilt against a certain small inglorious foe that shall be nameless, every morning and evening, during our whole progress through Greece. It is true, such contests commonly ended by putting about two scores of this afflictive enemy 'hors de combat,' but one would have thought that he was constantly over the spot, where dragons' teeth had been sown in the earth. Nay, I have seen stout and vigorous Englishmen, who had fed lustily on the quails and manna of their own fat land, well nigh suffering martyrdom under the bites of these petty Cannibals. 'Diavolini pulci, che mi tormentate tanto.' I will just say here, that whoever intends to go to Greece, can carry nothing more useful or comfortable, than a camp-bed standing upon iron legs two or three feet from the ground; for though the salient power of this adversary seems in inverse ratio to the insignificance of his size; the bed is, nevertheless a considerable security, and saved us from many a fever of the brain and body too

April 9. In going out of the village this morning, soon after the sun rose, we passed a Turk, richly dressed, sitting upon a carpet, under a fig tree just budding. He was smoking, and several attendants were standing near him. I know of no European habit of life so picturesque, as the Eastern one, of sitting in loose garments in the open air, sheltered from the sun, by trees of deep and full foliage; it

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breathes such freshness and purity, and withal the utmost freedom from restraint or preparations. A Turk, on a journey, seldom passes an ancient and wide spreading plane tree, without stopping to spread his carpet, and waste an hour in smoking. Surely the gayest drawing-room with the richest furniture, the choicest grace, animation, and luxury of the most polished life will never utterly subdue the charm belonging to the cheerfulness of the fresh open air, the trees in full leaf and blossom, and to those 'brawling brooks,' where the 'poor sequestered stag' comes to languish. It has been chiefly left to poets to celebrate Arcadia, but various statesmen and philosophers have at all times done homage to the delights of the country. They have fled away from Athens and Rome to the vale of Tempe, or to Baiæ. Soon after, we met a man, well dressed, wearing a sword, and followed by several attendants. We were told, that he was travelling to collect money for the Grand Seignor. All well-dressed men, at all accompanied, that we saw after that, were sure to be upon the same errand. I do not ever remember to have heard it said of any messenger coming from Stamboul that he was going to pay money. This day the country was barren and full of rocks, chiefly mountains, narrow valleys, and with a thin soil: a few small huts, made of rough stones, principally thatched with straw. We saw a few peasants in sheep-skins, all with guns and pistols, and many women carrying very heavy loads of wood on their shoulders, and knitting as they went along; very few small spots of thin oats and barley. In the room, in which we slept this night in the village of Valchesti, there was a good stock of ears of Indian corn hanging from the roof. Here the guard undertook to make the sacrifice of a lamb. After being killed, cut open and cleaned with his dagger, a pine stick was run through the body, and a boy made to sit cross-legged to turn this hopeful roast against a fire, built by the side of the house in the open air. During the whole evening, the guard bestowed blows with the flat side of his dagger, or his whip, according to his caprice, upon all the natives who approached him. He beat an unhappy priest with his whip three several times, who had returned, as often from a forage in the village, for eggs.

April 10. On attempting to enter a hovel this morning to rest and breakfast, the wife shut the door and bolted it with

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the utmost violence. A large dog, chained in the yard, began to bark and yell; an old priest, with only one eye, put forth his arms, and seemed to be invoking the heavens to save his cottage from the inroad, and four or five small children with one accord, set up a terrific shriek, as if it had been the murder of the innocents. The only creatures unconcerned in this uproar were our own jackasses, who, I have observed, always appear equally indifferent, whether others or they themselves are beaten. This was the fourth hut in the village at which we had applied for shelter. The guard became furious; he drew forth his long flat dagger, a weapon to which he never failed to resort when the women were particularly perverse or clamorous, appearing to think it sufficiently formidable to threaten the men with his whip, advanced to the door, and just at the moment, when the prayers of the priest, the cries of women, children, and dog were most vehement, he, who believed himself, that Mahomet was the only true prophet, and his own dagger the only true symbol of justice, ran through in every note of the gamut, a long strain of imprecations in Albanian, Greek, and Turkish, mingled with a few sounds of vulgar Arabic, which he had learned in a campaign against the Wechabites. Every intelligent reader, well skilled in the sort of rhetoric, which most men apply on such occasions, will be able to interpret this discourse quite as successfully as we, who had the misfortune to be on the spot. At any rate, it was like the magic sound of 'open sesame.' The ancient priest, a thin white beard falling to his breast, slowly moved his hand to his heart, as we entered. His face showed plainly enough, that before we came there, he had suffered his full portion of oppression and hardship in this world. The children stood holding their breath, and terrified even to the bursting of their lungs; and the mother, waiting in the greatest apathy till she seemed to have satisfied herself that we were neither plunderers nor murderers, drew out from under a mat, a great quantity of coarse brown coloured dough, marked a cross on several parts of it, and shovelled it into a large oven, of which the temperature must have been considerably affected by the duration of the contest with the guard. The dog, the only one of the Argives, who appeared to be gifted with any degree of independence, had settled himself partly on the earth, looking like a great tiger, crouched in a jun-

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gle. Indeed, if dogs could emancipate Greece, there are enough and fierce ones too, to accomplish this great work. Whoever travels in the night, hears the unceasing howl and wail of those animals, starting from every glen, and shepherd's cot, and echoing far and near among the lofty crags of the mountains; and few travellers through these regions have the good luck to hang up to their domestic gods a toga, or a tunic, into which a Molossian dog has not set his teeth. 'Ad sinistram enim intrantibus, non longe ab ostiarii cella, canis, ingens, catenâ vinctus, in pariete erat pictus, superque quadrata litera scriptum, Cave, cave, canem.' In all the Eastern cities that we visited, but more especially Constantinople, we saw large troops of long, lank, lean, yellow-coloured dogs, lying half asleep and half famished in the gutter, which goes through the middle of these narrow streets. The mules and jackasses carefully step over them, and at certain hours of the day, charitable dervishes, or the people of the neighbourhood, distribute to them a scanty ration. The Mahometans believe that their prophet had a particular love for dogs, and though they look upon them as of the unclean beasts, yet it is reckoned a pious act to bequeath a small donation for their daily support. It appears, that these animals have the genuine Turkish antipathy to the Giaour, for we seldom went into the streets of Constantinople without rousing from their dull slumber all within scent, and they lost no time in sending a terrific yell of preparation to all their comrades in the same gutter, so that the morning walk of a Frank in an Eastern city commonly begins and ends with a pack of fifteen or twenty dogs, barking and shrieking at his heels. Mr. Hobhouse in speaking of a dragoman, quotes a proverb known at Constantinople,—'Dio mi guardi dai dragomani, io mi guarderò dai cani.' The man who made that proverb was truly in a deplorable condition. In 1615 the Vizier Nassoul had all the dogs transported from Constantinople to Scutari, about three fourths of a mile distant on the Asiatic side. Numerous and terrific are the histories, told to the unhappy traveller of the ferocity of these dogs, and their keen appetite after Frankish blood. Almost every embassy at the Porte has long legends upon its tablets of secretaries, and counsellors, and chaplains, torn, and hunted, and bitten. This inconvenient toleration of dogs has, however, venerable antiquity to plead in its defence.

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'And the dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel; and they went out to bury her, but they found no more of her, than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands.'

From this village the interpreter and guard went forward to carry our letters to the Pasha. The country six miles before Joannina, in this direction, is a flat and broad valley, but now for the most part in pasture. The afternoon was cold, as the wind came from the north, and blew over the snow on the mountains. Numerous peasants were returning from the capital, with their asses; most of them carrying three or four small wax candles to be burnt at Easter, the great festival of the Greeks, then just at hand. Then every Greek family puts on its best clothes, and new slippers, burns its candles, cleans up the images of the virgin, and salutes all passengers with the phrase Χριστος ἀνέστη, 'Christ has arisen.' On a little hill, from which there is a full view of Joannina, half a mile distant, there is a small altar erected to the virgin, before which a blind man stood, shaking a brass plate, upon which most pious Greeks put a small bit of copper money. From this hill to the town I counted fourteen beggars, laid along the road, blind and lame, shaking these boxes, and demanding charity as vociferously as I have ever known an Italian to do. This was the first time that we had seen minarets, or tomb-stones with turbans carved upon the top, or women covered with vast cloaks, and the whole face except the eyes, wrapped up in white clothes; and those long rows of low shops, where the shop-keepers and mechanics of all descriptions, even the baker and blacksmith sit at their work cross-legged. I do not recollect to have seen in the great bazars of Constantinople, or those of any Turkish town, one man *standing* in a shop. How often does a European exclaim upon the richness and brilliancy of the Turkish dress, the large and full turban, loose robes, tunics and breeches of the gayest cloth or silk, often finely embroidered in gold and silver, and ornamented with fur, all bestowed upon the person with a taste, and combination of colours, truly astonishing in a nation so barbarous. Every one must have remarked the variety and splendour of colours in the paintings of the old painters, and whether they represented the dress of the Eastern or Western people, it was infinitely gay, flowing, and party coloured, compared with the dress of the present day. We were immediately con-

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ducted to the palace of Muchtar, eldest son of the pasha and governour of the town in quality of Kiaia, or viceroy to his father.

> 'Dark Muchtar his son to the Danube is sped,
> Let the yellow haired Giaours view his horse-tails with dread:
> When his Delhis come dashing in blood o'er the banks,
> How few shall escape from the Muscovite ranks.'

In the anti-chamber we found an interpreter, a coarse, ordinary Italian, dressed in the European fashion. Muchtar was sitting in the corner of the divan, smoking a Persian pipe. He moved his head gently, and pointed with his hand to a seat on the divan near himself. He is a large man, with a face of great dignity, intelligence, and mildness. A gold-wrought pistol was in his girdle, and there were three others on the divan with his fur pelisse. On the opposite side of the room stood six boys, dressed in the Albanian manner; their hair was combed smooth to its full length behind, and cut close over the forehead, their feet bare and red. They brought him a fresh pipe, and his coffee, and during the whole audience, I never saw their eyes turned from the prince, for a single glance. Several guns and a French mamaluke sabre were hung on the wall with a cage of Canary birds, a European clock, and a looking glass. The room was large, with a broad divan round three sides of it. It struck me, that the conversation of the Albanian was little different from that of European princes. He asked very much such questions, as are repeated, audience after audience, in the European courts; and indeed it is pretty difficult to conceive what other questions a well bred man could ask of a stranger, whom he only saw for a few moments. Among other matters, he inquired if it were true that Napoleon had escaped from St. Helena, if the Americans were at peace with all the world. He said, that, 'for his part, four or five years ago he had fought and loved war, but now he was left to pass his hours in the divan and smoke the Houka.'

The lodging, which Muchtar appointed for us, was in the house of a Greek merchant; it being impossible for a Turk, even of the lowest order, to receive Franks within his walls, both from religious scruples, and from a respect to the harem, or women's apartment. The koran prescribes hospitality only to strangers of the same nation or the same relig-

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ion. The house where we were lodged was of wood, surrounded by a high wooden fence. On the first story were kept the wood, corn, hay, a mule or two, and all the stores of the family. On the second story, to which we ascended by a staircase on the outside of the house, the family lived. Grecian houses differ essentially from those of the land of Canaan, particularly as to the 'house-top,' which being flat, and covered with a terrace of plaster, is used for sitting and various works and amusements, and to which such constant reference is made both in the Old and New Testaments. The Grecian house-top is pointed, and appears to be a territory sacred to storks.

The father was absent on business of the vizier, but the brother was at home, a man, whom we afterwards found to be infinitely oppressive and dull. Unhappily this personage had travelled a little. In some unlucky summer month he had ventured in a Hydriot brig to Leghorn; and there he had staid a few days, and learned a few words of Italian. Still the ingenuous Greek would sit cross-legged upon the divan, and tell the whole story of his perils, as if he were wooing a senator's daughter. He seemed to account his little sail over a few smooth waves of the Mediterranean, equal to the seven voyages of Sinbad; as if he had been to the wall of China, and through the north-west passage; as if he had kissed toes in Rome, and hands in all other European courts, and had seen the temple of Diana, the Colossus of Rhodes, and the walls of Babylon; and yet after all he seemed to look upon himself as the greatest wonder he had beheld. But, alas! it is uncertain whether little travelling or a great deal gives most airs The mother, a pert, forward, inquisitive little creature, came skipping into the room with the sweetmeats and coffee, chattering Greek like a magpie. The woman, however, had no lack of sense or good feeling. She was full of attention and kindness, and kept two or three of her children constantly on duty at our door, in order that we might not shout in vain for our servants or janizary. It is true these faithful sentinels occasionally trespassed upon their duty, by opening the door, and just peeping very slyly through the crack, a ceremony in which it was not rare to see the mother and brother both assisting. She very bountifully laid upon the ground in full view, the whole battery of her kitchen, consisting of about five pans made of copper,

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and tinned inside and outside, an operation which is renewed once every year; all her wooden and earthen plates, wooden and horn spoons. Nay, she proposed to marry her eldest daughter, a pretty girl of fourteen, to an Italian servant who was with us, notwitstanding the wedding robe of the damsel was already made, and she was to be married in three months to a Greek of Joannina. She offered as a dower 2000 piastres; but on her part she demanded that our Italian should cut off his hair and whiskers, put on loose breeches, and sit upon his hams.

Prince Chanzerly, the first interpreter of Ali, soon came to inform us that the Pasha would be ready to see us the next morning. He told us that he was himself the son of a Hospodar or Wallachian prince, who had been beheaded by the Porte, that he had been forced to fly from Constantinople, and conceal himself a long time in the islands of the Archipelago, and finally that Ali had received him under his protection. He was about forty years of age, with a beard remarkably full, and kept constantly black by being stained with indigo. He had been much in Vienna, and had seen Paris. He had also been sent on an embassy to Napoleon, at the time of the Moskow campaign. He regularly received the Italian newspaper of Lugano by the way of Vienna, and was about to subscribe for the Moniteur by order of his highness the vizier. His wife and children were then at Joannina. I have seldom seen a foreigner who spoke French with such purity, and whose air and carriage were so thoroughly French.

The pasha did us the honour to send us a dinner this evening by one of the under cooks of his highness' kitchen, barefooted and with two long pistols in his girdle. It was cooked in the palace kitchen, and served upon his highness' own plate, to wit, one boiled fowl, one roasted one, stewed mutton, and a score of little balls, which, to the disparagement of his highness' cook, I am sorry to say, were not equal to the celebrated bullets à l'epigramme of Robert, all in four tinned-copper basins, the use of silver for such purposes being forbidden by the Mahometan law. The next morning the same barefooted scullion brought us one roasted fowl, one boiled do. and a leg of mutton, which it must be confessed, did great honour to his highness' skill in crosses.

April 11. The officer assigned us by Muchtar Pasha as a

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guard, dressed in a sort of red velvet, loose jacket, much embroidered and lined with fur, went before us, driving away with a stick from the same side of the street all denominations, except military and mussulmen. Circles and knots of men, to the number in the whole of six or seven hundred, for the most part wearing sheep-skins, but some having very gay colours, all carrying pistols and daggers, were sitting, smoking, and walking in the court-yard of the palace of the vizier, in that confusion and irregularity which make all assemblages of men in the East so remarkably picturesque. We had the pleasure of verifying by personal observation the justice of the following poetical enumeration.

> The wild Albanian kirtled to his knee,
> With shawl girt head, and ornamented gun,
> And gold-embroidered garments, fair to see;
> The crimson-scarfed men of Macedon;
> The Delhi with his cap of terror on,
> And crooked glaive; the lively supple Greek;
> And swarthy Nubia's mutilated son,
> The bearded Turk, that rarely deigns to speak,
> Master of all around, too potent to be meek,
>
> Are mixed conspicuous; some recline in groups,
> Scanning the motley scene, that varies round;
> There some grave Moslem to devotion stoops,
> And some that smoke, and some that play, are found;
> Here the Albanian proudly treads the ground;
> Half whispering, there the Greek is heard to prate;
> Hark! from the mosque the nightly solemn sound,
> The Muezzin's call doth shake the minaret,
> "There is no god but God! to prayer—lo! God is great."

The first door of the palace was very like a common barn-door, without either porter or guard; beyond this there was a multitude of boys, blacks, and soldiers; they looked at us in silence. We passed through a short, narrow entry, and entered another room, in which was a vast quantity of rubbish, old clothes, bits of wood, boxes, and guns, evidently a place where soldiers sleep. A soldier drew aside a green cloth curtain, and we saw Ali, sitting in a diagonal line from the door, in one corner of a very low, common sized room, painted for the most part red. It was a great heap wrapped up in dark red cloth, edged with fur, and supported by five deep cushions. Nothing was visible of Ali but a hand holding a pipe, an uncommonly full white beard and mustachios, a most venerable face, not denoting the least leaven of ferocity, but on

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the contrary, the greatest dignity and intelligence. It is evident that his highness loved heat, for nearly one side of the room was taken up by a huge fire-place, upon which they had piled a score of large logs, reminding one of those hospitable fire-places now rarely seen in the halls of old English barons. He had just made a motion that we should sit down on the divan, when he was seized with a singularly furious cough or long sneeze, causing a great commotion in his whole frame. The only person seated was a dervish or monk, a privilege which they have on all such occasions. Upon being told we were Americans, he asked immediately if our ancestors had not been of English descent; a question which shows either great sagacity of mind, or that on hearing from English travellers of the war between America and England, he may have been told of our descent. He asked various questions and with much interest about our opinion of the temple of Dodona, known to have been in a part of the present dominions of the vizier. It was truly not to be expected that a pasha of the Turkish empire, a barbarian himself, and the chief of barbarians, should show a scent so quick and keen after antiquities. But it seems that this acute-minded personage, observing that all the English who came to his country inquired with great eagerness after antiquities, and more especially the celebrated one of Dodona, concluded that great treasures were hid in those places, which travellers came to seek. It was therefore natural enough that he should feel an anxiety to make the first discovery. The pasha was particularly desirous that a commercial relation should be established between America and his dominions, and requested us on our return to our own country to solicit the American government to send a consul to Joannina.

This first interview lasted half an hour; various persons came and went without any ceremony, or any attention whatever to the vizier. No one kneeled, and the only salutation appeared to be carrying the right hand first to the heart, and then touching the forehead.

Psalida has a school of 200 boys. He spoke German, Italian, and Latin, and said that he had a perfect knowledge of ancient and modern Greek, of Latin, and German. The word *perfect*, particularly applied to a knowledge of languages, and then again most particularly to the French language, is susceptible of various interpretations, and is always to be

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understood cum *grano salis.* He is a brisk, sensible, acute, intelligent man; but spoke with some asperity of the notions of his celebrated countryman Coray, at Paris, and of his process in restoring the purity of the ancient language. Psalida lives in a good house, and has a very pretty son, who gave the coffee and sweetmeats with great grace. He has written several works printed at Vienna or Venice, and lately a work upon the history, statistics, and geography of Albania, which he gave to Lord Guilford to have published. He has a small library of Greek and Latin books, four small English prints in his room, and a Greek map of Europe.

Statistics, &c.—We were informed by good authority, that there are 5000 houses in Joannina, of six persons each. This appears to be an exaggeration. Joannina occupies but a small space of ground, including the two forts, the two palaces of the vizier, the palace of Muchtar, seventeen mosques, and the large lots filled by burying grounds in all Turkish towns. It is another important consideration, that seldom more than one family lives in a Greek house. The house itself is large, and surrounded by a wooden fence, in which is generally included a small court-yard. I think, therefore, that the number of houses ought to be reduced at least to 3000. One English traveller states the population at 35,000, and another, upon the authority of a French resident, calls it 30,000. All these persons, from their longer residence at Joannina, particularly M. de Pouqueville, had better opportunities, than ourselves, of ascertaining the true population of the town; but from the reasons that I have already given, and comparing the size of Joannina with the size of towns, of which the population is well known, I am led to believe that there is exaggeration in the accounts. More especially, as people, who have not given themselves much trouble in comparing towns and populations, seldom make worse guesses, than when they undertake to give the number of houses or inhabitants in any place. No one matter appears to be more susceptible of exaggeration, than population; of this the account in the Old Testament of the Jewish armies is one of the most striking examples. As for the rest, it appears to me that the statements of population in other parts of Greece are magnified at least one third.

The vizier takes to himself one third of the whole produce of the soil in his dominions. It is supposed that another

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third is lost to the inhabitants, by military quartering and other extortions. The rich (all but Turks) pay 16 piastres to the sultan, annually, for every poll over 16 years. This tax is called *karatch*. The middling class pay on the same conditions 10 piastres, and the poor 6 piastres. There is a duty of 4 per cent upon every article, which comes to Joannina. The vizier maintains 8000 troops in all his provinces, of which 3000 are constantly at Joannina. Even that number would appear to be sufficient to make a famine in the land; but they live chiefly on barley and rye bread, low wine, curds, raw onions, and olives. One sees great quantities of olives, raisins, oranges, and chestnuts, offered for sale. Twenty-nine pieces of cannon, 24 and 12 pounders, with five mortars, were mounted in the two forts by the two hundred French, sent by Napoleon under Gen. Guillaume de Vaudencourt. These French suffered great oppression, were never paid, ill fed, and lodged; and at last as the pasha would never consent to dismiss them, they were all forced to fly from Joannina in different disguises.

The Vizier has a revenue of - -	14,000,000	piastres,
Veli, his second son, pasha of Thessaly	4,000,000	"
Muchtar, the eldest son, governor of Joannina	3,000,000	"
Seli, pasha of Delvino, the youngest son, and of a different mother	500,000	"
	21,500,000	

No money has been more debased, than the Turkish piastre. In 1763 it was worth 32½ cents, and in 1797, containing 17 drams of fine silver and 2¼ of alloy, it was worth intrinsically 29 cents. In 1819 the Spanish dollar sold in English banking houses at Constantinople for 7 Turkish piastres, making the piastre worth about 14⅕ cents. At the same time in Greece it was worth only 6 piastres, giving, therefore, exactly 18 cents to the piastre. It is to be observed, that the exchange value of the piastre, in the great trading towns of Europe, is nearly 100 per cent more than its real value at Constantinople. According to the preceding statement, the whole revenue of Ali and his family being 21,500,000 piastres, at 18 cents, gives $3,870,000; a sum, separate from the karatch of the sultan, to be divided annually on about 1,200,000 people, who occupy about 6500 square miles of territory. The portion of the soil contained in Thessaly, about 1650 square miles, is fertile, and possesses valuable

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manufactures. The other portions of territory are in general mountainous and sterile.

It is impossible to obtain accurate and complete accounts of the present state of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures in Greece, but as it is a matter of some curiosity to know in what way this wretched people contrives to pay yearly such vast and frightfully disproportionate sums, I shall set down a few main items, illustrating the principal sources of wealth of this country; not that perfect reliance can be placed in these items, for they are taken for the most part from the accounts of foreign nations, at present engaged in trade with Greece. There are about 1,3 0,000 lbs of wool annually grown and exported; 16 ,000 remain in the country; 1 ,000 lbs. of kermes used to dye; 3,910,0 0 lbs. of cotton manufactured yearly at Turnavo and in other parts of Thessaly, at Ambelakia, &c. This cotton is either woven or spun; 3,740,000 lbs. of cotton annually died; 32,000 piastres worth of morocco sent annually to Germany; 7000 hare and other skins, collected on the mountains of Albania; about 6,400,000 bushels of wheat annually raised in Thessaly. Little grain is raised in other parts of Ali's dominions, but barley and rye. These estimates apply only to the pashalics of Albania and Thessaly, and the mousselimlic of Delvino. Of course, they include neither the gulf of Volo, anciently Sinus Pelasgicus, an independent government under the protection of the Sultana, and which Veli, pasha of Thessaly, has attempted several times to buy. The shores of this gulf are the most populous parts of Greece, and more vessels are owned here, than in all the Grecian continent. We were told at Tricheri, a small town upon one arm of the gulf, near which the ancient town called Æantium stood, that there were 80 square rigged vessels belonging to that port alone, which is smaller than the port of Volo, at the head of the gulf. These vessels are employed in the summer, in trading in the different ports of the Mediterranean.

Neither of the foregoing items include the pashalic of Salonichi, which is the most productive of all the Grecian (if it can be so called) pashalics; the port of Salonichi, anciently Thessalonica, being one of the greatest trading places of the Turkish empire. It is also necessary to remark, that the commerce of this part of Greece has much fallen since the relinquishment of the continental system, and the overthrow

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of the emperor Napoleon, that great and irregular trade, driven for the most part by the English, between Salonichi and the southern parts of Germany, through Sophia, Semlin or Belgrade, upon the Danube, the Temeswar, and Raab, during the greatest pressure of that system, having now returned to its direct and accustomed courses.*

In 1819 the average rate of wages of a peasant of Thessaly or Albania was 17 cents a day. This rate is remarkably high in a country so famished and desolated by every sort of oppression; but it comes from the heavy taxes, and frequent exactions, to which the peasant is subject; the want of labourers, as a portion of the population lives upon the mountains, where they are supported by the milk of a few goats and a little barley bread; the uncertainty of life and employments; the great numbers of persons attached to the pashas, the mousselims. &c. and others living in harems, all consuming most unprofitably; and to the great number of religious festivals, when the peasant cannot labour. It has been calculated that the abolition of only twenty religious festivals in France (by Concordat, of 25 Fructidor, year 9. [10 Sept. 1801] art. 57; il giorno di riposo per i publici funzionari verrà fissato nella domenica) saved to that country 320,000,000 of livres in agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing

* It may be as well to mention here, that M. de Pouqueville had nearly finished, in the autumn of 1818, an extensive work, in great detail, on the continent of Greece, chiefly relating to its modern condition. This gentleman resided in Greece, as French consul general, from 1805 to 1818. He, moreover, had the misfortune to be detained as a prisoner in the Turkish empire, the greater part of the time from 1798 to 1803. It will therefore be readily acknowledged, that he must have possessed the best means of information, and he is, in addition to all this, a man of intelligence, perfect honour, and integrity. Mr. Hobhouse and Lord Byron affect to speak with considerable contempt of M. de Pouqueville. And indeed of whom, but Turks and Corsairs, does not Lord Byron speak with contempt? He ridicules and abuses the Franks in Greece with the same zeal and constancy, with which he extols the Turks. Those, who have had an opportunity of knowing Signor Lusieri and Messrs. Fauvel and Gropius of Athens, who, I venture to affirm, showed and explained to Lord Byron every thing that he saw in that city, and who have also had intercourse with Turks in the different parts of Greece, will be able to pronounce upon the justice of his lordship's remarks. As it is, Dr. Holland, who went to Joannina only three years after the above named travellers, and who seems to partake of the political principles of both, found M. de Pouqueville 'extremely intelligent, well informed, as to the present state of Albania, was much indebted for an unexpected degree of polite attention, and derived much satisfaction from his acquaintance.'

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labour. For the reasons above given, the Albanian or Thessalian peasant finds work about 205 days of the year, making the yearly value of his life at 17 cents a day $34,85. We shall now see what are the necessary expenses of that life.

His bread is one third wheat and two thirds rye, oats, and barley, and, as it is his chief food, he consumes 1¼ lb. daily, say 456 lbs. yearly, at 2 cts. per lb.	$9,12
Meat at the four festivals of Christmas, Easter, St. George, and Demetrius. This meat is always lamb, and generally taken from his flock—allow ½ a lb. at each festival at 8 cts per lb.	16
Three ounces of curd a day, at 1 cent the 3 ounces	3,65
Salt, pickled olives, salads, fruit, &c. 2 cts. daily	7,30
Quart of wine a month, at 4 cts. the quart	48
As much for the whiskey of the country	48
Yearly expense for pipes and bowls of pipes	20
Yearly expense for tobacco (most ordinary kind)	52
	$21,91
Dress.—A cap every two years, (merely a cloth skull-cap)	6
Barber. All Greeks and Albanians shave their heads, and all Greeks, except priests or the aged, shave their beards three times a month, at 2 cts. each time	72
Two cotton tunics annually made in the country, and unbleached	1,00
Two woolen do. not dyed, 60 cts. each	1,20
Covering for legs, generally old bits of cloth, tied about them, including strings	30
Girdle to hold his dagger, to bind his tunic, to tie his tobacco pouch, &c. one in ten years, ⅒ of cost	5
Dagger for life, first cost $1,20, interest upon that sum at least 15 per cent	18
Great coat, only a strip of cotton, one in 5 years, ⅕ cost	40
Expenses of lodging, fire, house rent, and other small necessary expenses, 2 cts. a day	7,30
	11,21
	21,91
	$33,12

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Three peasants in five own a gun, but as I have allowed this peasant the first cost of a dagger, and as there is no increase of population, it is but fair to suppose, that he shall have received his gun from his father or a relation; $3 3,12 therefore is the inevitable annual expense of a Greek adult peasant, labouring upon another man's estate, being $1,73 less than his annual gain. It appears that the excess of gain above the amount of expenses, in proportion to the whole sum, is equal to the excess of gain above their expenses of the agricultural labouring classes of Europe. The peasants of England earn upon an average $76,20, and those of France only of $26; that is, every individual man, woman, and child, of the agricultural labouring class earns this sum. I do not allow the Greek an occasional cup of coffee, so universally and constantly drank in the East; no expense for sickness; an occasional dance of the Romaic; playing on the guitar, a very common amusement of the country; of a small treat to his mistress; of presents to his priest; of accidents to his clothes, pipe, dagger, &c.; expenses also for wax-lights at Easter, and amusements of that day; no expense for powder and shot, which perhaps will be more than paid for by his game; of an occasional para given to a beggar before the image of the virgin; karatch to the sultan $ 1,8; also danger of not being paid his wages; expenses of a dog, which animals are very numerous; moreover his share in supporting the sick, old, and those unable to work of his own family. From bad lodging, bad food, great exposure, and a very irregular mode of life, men are sooner disabled in barbarous than in civilized countries. Debauchery and luxury affect the higher classes of civilized nations, but seldom reach the lower ones, particularly those engaged in agriculture. It is evident from this statement, made from very recent information obtained in Greece itself, what a wretched existence the farmers and owners of flocks must lead, who have to pay a great part of the enormous taxes of this country.

Joannina is now the largest and most opulent of the Greek towns. The learned men are more numerous; the rich ones better protected. Indeed, most of the wealthy men of this place have earned their money in Leghorn, Vienna, and Moscow, or in other towns of Italy, Germany, or Russia. But the Pasha never fails to take into his hands a pledge or a hostage for the return of these merchants. One of the

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children of our landlady was going in a few years to a counting-house in Leghorn. Greek, Turk, and Hebrew enjoy nearly an equal protection. The primate of the town is a Greek; the greater part of the Vizier's secretaries and scribes are Greek, besides many military officers of the same nation. The Greeks, too, wear gayer colours both in their turbans and robes, than they dare to indulge in even at Athens. I was told that the Greek women ventured so far, as to wear green and white upon their heads and yellow slippers, without notice. It is well known that yellow slippers are appropriated to Mahometans alone, and excepting the oulemas or doctors of Mahometan law, who wear dark blue, and a few military, who wear red boots, no other colour is ever worn. The infidel subjects of the empire are condemned to black, except the Armenians of Constantinople, who are allowed to wear a dark red. But rich Greeks and other infidels in the provinces, and the Armenian women at Constantinople, whose husbands have now great influence at the Porte, being without doubt the richest portion of the grand signior's subjects, are permitted to buy the privilege of wearing yellow slippers. White for the turban is also reserved for the Mahometans, and green for the Emirs or descendants of Ali, now about one thirtieth part of the population. Green is known to have been a favourite colour with the prophet, for the Mahometans record, that in eight principal combats of his life, he was assisted by angels, wearing green turbans, and his nephew Ali wore green muslin upon his head, the day he destroyed in single fight the famous *Amr Ibn Abdoud*. I believe that the sultan possesses also the right of wearing green upon the head, as being the high priest of the prophet on earth. But all Mahometans, whether men or women, are allowed to wear green garments, and indeed, since the overthrow of the Caliphat by the houses of Abas and Ali, that colour has become a distinguishing mark of the nation.

The number of Turks here is small. I never heard a Turk speak of the Albanians, but as a cowardly race, who fought well behind trees and rocks, while in an open plain, one true Turk with a good scimitar was equal to eight of them. Ali is no Turk, though he is a Mahometan without performing more of the ablutions and religious ceremonies, than he finds meet and convenient. He sends his tribute annually to the Porte, but possesses a degree of power, very nearly bordering

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on independence. Two of his sons are now Pashas, though perhaps one, Sali, is properly a Mousselim. By a more judicious conduct on the part of Veli, who was Pasha of the Morea, and who, by a very extraordinary event in Turkey, was obliged to leave his dominions in consequence of an unanimous petition to the Porte for his removal from every Turk, Greek, and Hebrew subject whatever in that territory, all Greece would probably at this moment have been under the government of Ali's family. It is in the Ottoman empire, almost if not quite without a precedent, that a pashalic should become hereditary. Joannina is not one of the ten cities entitled to a molla or judge in activity of the first class, nor to a Mufti, or judge in matters relating to religious dotations. It possesses Cadis, of which there are one hundred and eighty-seven in all Turkey in Europe, and Naibs, the lowest order of magistracy. There are but two Cadis in all the empire, who are for life; the others are removed every eighteen months. All judges of every order judge without appeal either to Cesar or Sultan. The judgment hall is open every day of the year, morning and night, except during the two feasts of the Bairam, and only one judge sits in each hall, assisted by a clerk. The parties for the most part plead their own causes, though there are established advocates, and two witnesses are competent to furnish decisive proof both in civil and criminal matters. The Mollas, Cadis, and Naibs have jurisdiction in all trials, relating to religious dotations, where there are no Muftis in the same district, but in all other civil and also criminal cases, they judge peremptorily. At the same time they are invested with all the functions of a notary, touching wills, contracts of marriages, sales, &c. All turkish judges, therefore, excepting the Muftis, possess the same judicatory powers, and the precedence is regulated only by the size of the district to which they are named. These judges have ten per cent upon the amount of all decisions in civil matters, and as they are paid by him who gains the cause, they have generally sufficient sagacity to decide in favour of him who is able to pay the judge. Several weeks after this time, at Tripolizza, we were one day in the audience room of the Bey Hamil, a Turkish nobleman of vast estates and great power in the Morea. There was present also a great attendance of persons of various colours, dresses, and conditions. And while

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the Bey was explaining to several elders with long white beards, who sat upon the divan, opposite him, the meaning of a dialogue he had just held with us, a middle aged woman pushed through the crowd with great force and fury, her hands stretched forward in attitude of the most eager supplication, her countenance wrung with rage and despair. This poor frantic creature, panting for breath, her heart almost bursting from her side, uttered the most horrid exclamations in every variety, and with the utmost rapidity of voice. These women in the ancient times would have been approached with veneration, as proclaiming the wills of the deities. Her son had been married the evening before in the midst of great festivities and rejoicings, and in the dead of the night, just after the virgins that had been bidden to the feast had departed, three soldiers broke into the house, seized the woebegone bridegroom, and carried him to the public prison. The Bey, who never for a moment ceased during this scene to breathe forth a most gentle and steady smoke that curled slowly away in his deep mustachio, ordered a janizary to attend the woman, and to inquire into the cause of the arrest. The throng closed up again at the bottom of the divan, and the elders, caressing their long white beards, addressed themselves to the work of hearing the farther discourses of their lord. It should seem that this manner of administering justice, as it were in the gate, like Boaz and the elders in the gate of Bethlehem, was the most simple as well as the most equitable; but the miserable truth is, that a Turkish cadi, like every other Turkish officer, goes upon the judgment seat, with no other end, than to deliver him to be crucified, who shall have brought the smallest scrip for his private coffer. The vizier too, whenever he sees fit, judges criminal causes on the spot, and the punishment is inflicted immediately. In civil causes he frequently appoints a commission, who report to him in writing.

All the Albanians constantly wear daggers and pistols, but assassinations are almost unknown; they look upon their arms as a part of their dress. Where a murder or any such high crime is committed, the guilty person is put to death, and his whole family of both sides, and all generations are sold to slavery. Every person may obtain admittance to the vizier by paying two dollars to the porter.

April 12. We saw this morning a very interesting young

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man of one of the principal houses of the town. His name was Soter Stavro. He spoke French and Italian respectably, and was then learning Turkish. His father and brother were both at Vienna; one of his sisters married to a Greek merchant at Moscow, and another to a Wallachian prince. He spoke of his great desire to travel, of the curious descriptions sent him by his relations in Europe, and of the vehement curiosity he felt to see those countries where there were so many great towns, so many fine streets and beautiful carriages, where so many books were written, and where there were no Turks. He was tired of the little lake and narrow valley of Joannina. Alas! unhappy youth! After all, you will find that the little valley, in which fate has placed you, is the only happy one on the face of the earth. What if the philosopher Imlac could put wings to your body to give you power to fly beyond the mountains that now shut you up? It is just in the gayest and thickest throng and bustle of that planet after which you are now sighing, that your heart will pant hardest for the rude villages and desert regions of your native land.

> Urbem. quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi
> Stultus ego huic Nostræ similem, quo sæpe solemus
> Pastores ovium teneros depellere fœtus.

The mother, of the mildest and most gentle aspect, spoke with the utmost solicitude of this unhappy propensity of her son. Her husband, a daughter, and son had been absent many years, and she despaired of ever seeing them all again. The daughter married in Albania, lived beyond the mountains, almost equal to a perpetual banishment, and as for Soter, he was the only remaining child left to her; he had never quitted the family roof. He was the Benjamin of the flock, and she could never consent that he should go down into Egypt with his brothers. The coffee and sweetmeats were offered upon fine porcelain and gilt silver, by the son himself. Servants and slaves are very numerous in all great houses of the East, but it is reckoned, with great justice, a more delicate courtesy to receive from the hands of the family.

On our visit to the vizier to day, he was in the principal palace, a very extensive building after the Chinese taste, much ornamented with light works, small pillars, points on the roof, painted principally red and white, with large pictures

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of battles, huntings, and wild beasts devouring each other, the work of poor Italian artists. This is a remarkable departure from one of the chief precepts of Islamism. There was a vast crowd of soldiers in the court-yard and upon the entry, particularly of blacks. These last appeared to have the good nature and communicative disposition, remarked of them in all countries. Most of them smiled upon or saluted us as we passed, though we received from the Albanians nothing but a steady and respectful gaze. One eunuch came to show us a great watch, fastened up in a large brass case, and tied to his neck with a thick string. He put ours to his ear, and on hearing them tick said 'buon' in Italian. His own watch appeared to have neither hands nor figures, and he seemed to know that it was going only by hearing it tick. These are the countries to which all blacks would do well to come. They wear pistols and daggers of the richest workmanship, and owing to the lusts of the great, are often invested with power above that of the natives. They are most numerous at Athens and in the Morea, where they are called Arabs, and, being Turkish subjects, are competent to all employments. We sailed ten days in a vessel with a black man of forty years of age, who had been collector of the customs at the Piræus. Eunuchs are forbidden by the Turkish laws; and this law is only departed from in the houses of the great, either from a love of pomp, or an observance of the ancient customs of the East. While we were waiting for the pasha to finish his nap, we went into a room appropriated to interpreters, secretaries, officers, &c. A young Albanian, asleep on the divan with a boy sitting at his feet, was called the valet de chambre of the pasha. The Albanians always sleep in their clothes.

In the different harems of the pasha (a Turkish word, meaning retreat or sacred place) there are from two hundred and fifty to three hundred women. A small proportion are slaves bought in Constantinople, the others are Greeks and Albanians of the country, who generally enter voluntarily, as in the course of a few years the pasha marries a greater part to the officers of his court; and as the wives of the sultan and most of the great men in Turkey are usually slaves from harems, they have the prospect of giving heirs to the empire, or being mothers of the principal personages in it. This practice sensibly diminishes, to speak technically, the absolute

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consumption of women by the great, and perhaps not more women are eventually lost in harems than are lost about courts and in nunneries in the West. The Mahometan law allows in no instance more than four wives, but the number of female slaves may be unlimited. None but females and the husband ever enter the harem; the eunuchs only remain on guard at the door, and accompany the women when they go to the bath or to be drawn in covered wagons. It is true on occasions of the bairam, of the birth of a child, of a marriage, of circumcision, the fathers, brothers, and nearest relations are suffered to be present in the harem. In general it is a law of the koran that a woman must never appear unveiled before one with whom, according to the Mahometan degrees of relationship, she is capable of contracting a marriage. Old women, who are said to have acquired great skill from long practice, perform all the duties of a physician, and no man can be received except in an extreme case; then the law requires that he should first feel the pulse, covered with muslin; in the last necessity the law allows the tongue, hands, or any part of the body to be shown. These matters are all determined by the koran or its expositors. The physician attached to the British embassy at Constantinople, in coming down the passage of a Turkish house, frequently saw a door open, a hand, covered with a veil, thrust out, and heard a female voice intreating him to cure her disease. He was once invited to see a favourite of the sultan, who had been ill many months of an unknown and troublesome disorder. He was attended by five eunuchs through the apartments leading to the harem, and in one of the outer rooms he found the patient, surrounded by innumerable old women, and so hid in robes and veils that not even the eyes were left open for inspection. He insisted that questions should be answered, and the tongue and hands shown. But notwithstanding a long debate, the sufferings that the patient endured, and the high value of her life, he gained no more than that an old woman should count the pulse in his presence; he, turning his back, the woman setting out with her counting when he should give a signal from his watch.

Ali has at present one wife, about twenty years of age. He is himself more than seventy. She never sits in his presence, nor do any of his sons; the more remarkable, as dervises have that privilege, and at our first interview his chief secre-

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tary was seated upon the divan the whole time. The room in the castle where we saw him to day, was small, much ornamented with red paint and gilding. On a shelf there were various boxes of tobacco, pipe handles, small jars, cups, various little treasures, and phials full of white liquid, either medicine or a precious cordial intended for the private drinking of his highness. The diamond-headed cane, and celebrated diamond-hilted dagger, said to be worth £30,000, were put upon the divan in full view. Many of the diamonds in the handle of the dagger were bought of Caroline, queen of Naples, and the largest of the late king of Sweden, which cost £8000. It was mounted by a Greek in Joannina. The blade is long and heavy, and excepting the handle, a very coarse performance, though the steel may be very precious. On one of the occasions this spring (1819,) when Ali came down to the sea-side to confer with Sir Thomas Maitland, governor of Malta and the Ionian isles, he brought with him in his bosom a little bag full of diamonds, and pouring them out upon a plate, proposed to have imitated in diamonds, the star of the order of the Bath which Sir Thomas wore. But there being no suitable place on the loose dress of an Albanian for such an ornament, the diamonds were put upon the head of a dagger. At one of these conferences, holden in a cow-house, a dinner was given by Ali to the governor and suite, and to his sister-in-law, lady Lauderdale, and other ladies who had the curiosity, or perhaps one might say the courage, to be present. Ali seized a roasted lamb, and tearing off, with his fingers, the fat bits, attempted to thrust them into lady Lauderdale's mouth, at the same time giving a great laugh. This is accounted in the East a great compliment. It is as if a European prince should help a guest with his own hands.

Ali was dressed, as before, in red and fur, clean white silk stockings, and yellow slippers. He spoke again with much earnestness of the escape of Napoleon. There are two reasons why these Albanian princes should discover so keen an interest in the emperor. 1st. He beat the Austrians and Russians, whom they mightily dread, and who, with very just reasons they fear may, some day or other, come and drive them into the desarts beyond the Caspian sea. 2d. During the continental system they had a wider and surer market for the grain, tobacco, cotton, wool, and other products of Epirus and Thessaly. He spoke also of the products of America;

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proposed to send a cargo of embroidered clothes, arms, dried figs, pickled olives, &c. hither, if it were probable he should succeed in getting, as a return, a cargo of women and horses; he said that he had five hundred horses, and that his good friend the pasha of Egypt had just sent him five excellent Arabian ones. He asked the number of our troops and navy, which army, the English or American, was most numerous; but he was obviously little anxious about this matter, which one would have supposed of all importance to a barbarous feudal chief, living in the midst of an armed camp, and who could have little delight but in troops and wars.

He was dreaming himself, and setting his interpreter to catechise us about commerce and money. We had already heard of the greediness of his highness, of great coffers filled with gold and silver, and we had known the case of the rich Logotheti of Livadia, taken from his bed, in the dead of the night, carried off to Joannina, and made to pay for his life and his liberty thirty purses, each containing five hundred piastres. This man had committed no other crime than having the good fortune to collect a considerable property at Patras, and the good sense to return to his native town to render his family comfortable and independent. There never was a country in which money was so unfailing and methodical an agent in the affairs of government, as Turkey. It may be put down as a universal principle, that neither virtue, talents, nor rank will be needed in the least. The office of capudan pasha or high admiral, of grand vizier, minister of state, reis effendi, of foreign affairs, the Greek patriarch, pashas of all the provinces, all these offices are given to the highest bidder. The pasha takes his firman, goes into his pashalic, sends forth his soldiers and servants in all directions to smite, plunder, oppress, ravage, and when he has redeemed the price he paid for that government, goes back to Constantinople to buy a better one, or retires into a country town to fill a numerous harem, it being a part of the jealous system of the Turks, that no pasha should ever reside at Constantinople. After all, Turkish pashas may be quite as good as Roman pro-prætors and pro-consuls.

> Exspectata diu tandem provincia quum te
> Rectorem adcipiet; pone iræ frena, modumque
> Pone et avaritiæ; miserere inopum sociorum.

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Ali was exceedingly embarrassed by the difference between the aborigines and Americans. After various explanations and illustrations, 'ah!' said the pasha, 'I understand the matter. The Americans invaded the country, enslaved the natives, and made them till the ground, and fight in their armies.' This conference lasted two hours; it served but to increase our admiration of the great sagacity and excellent sense of this celebrated pasha. By his order we were conducted through every part of the palace not appropriated to the women. The chief things to be seen were about one hundred guns and pistols hung in an entry, kept very dirty, and all loaded; numerous swords with scabbards much ornamented, a marble bath, one of vapour and two or three common ones, four rooms with divans, covered with silk and richly embroidered with gold and silver; every where pistols and daggers, all exceedingly valuable as to the mounting, which in several was of diamonds, and exceedingly coarse as to the locks and barrels; four French glasses, and six clocks, candelabras, with other things of little value, given to the pasha and put away here as in a sort of store-room. At four o'clock we went into the court-yard to hear the evening hymn, played at that hour every day in the capital of every pashalic in honour of the sultan. I venture to say, that no sovereign prince of this day, on whatever side of the equator or of the *capes* he may govern, is indulged in an equal quantity of frightful or ludicrous music. A few broken wind instruments, broken kettle drums, three little boys kneeling on the ground and beating a sort of cracked gong as fast as they could strike, and six tall grave looking effendis, with long rolls in their hands, shouting certain words among which Alla appeared to make the chief figure. I do not deny that one could not see with unconcern the effendis, with full and long robes, tall black caps, and those oracular rolls pointing to the heavens, as if they had been ancient soothsayers, uttering in a deep and unceasing voice strange sounds of an unknown language. The crowd sunk down again upon their hams, and began to smoke and chatter with great spirit. Whereupon we heard a loud chorus proceeding from the entrance of the court-yard, and in a moment a large disorderly throng of barbarians rushed along, bearing in the midst a stout dirty looking man on horseback. The whole camp instantly leapt up from the ground, carried their hands

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to their foreheads. and stooped their heads to the earth. This was Muchtar coming to the palace of the vizier to transact the business of the day. The long trains of set squadrons, moving with a regular step, in European pageants, do not excite the imagination half so much as the confused and hurrying multitude that surrounds the horse of an eastern prince, all struggling to approach his stirrups, and all pressing forward at the same time with a quick and tumultuous movement. It ceases at once to be a mechanical body ; there is neither command of officer nor beat of drum ; on the contrary every follower, abandoned to the impulses of his feelings, shows his degree of devotion and respect to the chief, just as he is eager to approach his person and persevering to follow him in his course. Muchtar, being lusty and much incumbered with clothes, had not entirely recovered from the hurried progress he had just made. He was still breathing hard, and had not yet succeeded in bringing his pipe into full fire, and till that happens one may look in vain for tranquillity and presence of mind in a Turk. He inquired with the utmost courtesy after our health, and if we were quite refreshed from the fatigues of our journey. He spoke of the chase in America, his great fondness for it, what kinds of tobacco were to be found in our country. For his own part he smoked only Persian tobacco, very strong and capable after a few puffs of intoxicating those not accustomed to it. He offered one of us his own pipe, and begged us to taste his tobacco. The serpent in these pipes is between three and four yards long, and it is not a small art to smoke them with tolerable success. The approved way of smoking in Turkey is to suffer the mouth of the pipe to rest upon the lips, and with all possible gravity and deliberation to blow out from time to time with the gentlest breath the rarest vapour, almost invisible, and quite scentless. Such clouds as I have seen issue from pipes and cigars in other countries, would almost cost a man his character in Turkey. Muchtar spoke of travelling ; he said that he was truly grieved and mortified that circumstances had not allowed him to visit the celebrated countries of the West ; he mentioned several distinguished European officers with whom he had frequently had converse, and applauded the curiosity which had led us to sojourn in these distant and unknown lands. He wished us with much grace all manner of happiness and success in our present undertaking, and said

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that he should be infinitely gratified to be informed of our safe return to our own country. When he heard that his father had given us a letter of protection to his son Veli, pasha of Thessaly, he ordered a secretary to write another on his part. We were much provoked and embarrassed in this conference by the presence of a perverse, ignorant and conceited dervish, who was upon one end of the divan, and was pleased to take a part in all the dialogue with Muchtar. This animal, who spoke nothing but Turkish, undertook to instruct Muchtar in the geography of Europe and of America, which as far as we could find out, he placed on the right hand of Constantinople, or the eastern shore of the Black sea. He was also pleased to ask us himself various questions, such as the distance of America; five thousand miles; to which he groaned out *choke;* the breadth of the Atlantic, which he in his wisdom mistook for the Black sea; three thousand miles; another groan and *choke;* then the size of America, and our answers did not probably fall short of the real measurement; a third *choke.* So that if we had pleased we could have amused ourselves with the dervish and his *choke* the whole afternoon, which, after all, is only the Turkish word signifying 'a good deal.' The prince discoursed again upon war; mentioned in particular the name of a Russian general, since dead, with whom he had enjoyed a firm friendship, and told us the story of a battle he had fought in an island of the Danube with the Russians, in which he had lost 24,000 men, and the Russian army only 18,000, but he himself had succeeded in escaping. He appeared to give himself great credit for losing 24,000 of his own men, and yet save his own life.

It gives me real pleasure to speak of the intelligence, dignity, and elegance of manners of this prince. One rarely sees an expression and a carriage so full of courtesy and grace, and it can be truly said that one may be present at all the courts of Europe and not meet a single prince more worthy of a niche there than the pasha Muchtar. We shall always remember with great satisfaction and gratitude the protection and hospitality which we had the good fortune to receive from this distinguished family.

Note. *Joannina* in pronunciation is abbreviated to *Yanina.*

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